MANX GAELIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In the 1819 Bible and the 1625 Prayer Book

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THE PRESENT study records the forms and constructions found in certain parts of the Manx Bible published in 1819, and accompanies them with phonetic and historical notes and comments. An attempt is made to discover in the Manx Prayer Book of 1625 similarities of detail found in the historical grammar of Irish and Gaelic. Some forms are common to Irish and Manx, others to Gaelic and Manx, while still other forms and constructions seem to be characteristic of Manx alone. The evidence offered by Manx establishes the real historical and linguistic value of a host of sentence combinations and details of syntax which, in Irish and Gaelic, are still explained from a historical or an etymological point of view, or treated as strictly modern developments.

The most notable traits of Manx include: standard use of compound tenses; treatment of the genitive as a simple adjective; formation of new types of words which incorporate parts of the copula *is* but disallow the expected use of this particle (for example *cha saillad* for *cha 'n aill leo*); weakening of numerous other particles and prefixes; and occasional shift of accent, for example to prepositions and adverbs. Some of these traits are peculiar to Manx; others suggest that the details here discussed, usually considered to be recent vulgarisms in Goidelic, are by no means recent, having behind them more than three centuries of respectable literary usage.

It is difficult to obtain reliable information on sentence structure and syntax in the Goidelic languages.[1] The reports on pure phonetic analysis of Irish,[2] with the sole exception of that by Mme Jonval, quoted in the present study, offer a number of full sentences suit-

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[1] H. Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1909–1913, treats, in Vol. II, of the primary uses of the parts of speech, rather than of real syntax and sentence structure; G. O'Nolan's *The New Era Grammar of Modern Irish*, Dublin, 1934, offers an odd collection of arbitrarily selected sentences from eight centuries of literature, systematized in spelling, and represented as the law; 1 mention these works lest it be said that I did not consider them, and since they are called "grammars." J. Vendryes, on the other hand, in his *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais*, Paris, 1908, does treat syntax, listing further studies on this subject; yet even Vendryes has nothing to say on the use of the past participle.

[2] For example those by Quiggin, Sommerfelt, and Finck (mentioned in this series, Vol. 1, p. 216); of these Finck alone reported consecutive phrases of colloquial and current usage; other than in his appendix of texts (in narrative

able for syntactical analysis, but only in passing; and the same is true for the studies concerning Gaelic,[3] though here the principal authority, Borgstrøm, does make some very general remarks on syntax. My occasional comparisons will be limited for the most part to Gaelic, for which I have a quantity of first-hand material.[4]

The Manx Bible published in 1819 is an ideal document for beginning the study of Manx. It is free from literary affectation, quite unlike the Gaelic Bible of 1767, the compilers of which, inconsistently seeking elegance, imitated literary Irish usages without regard to the fact that they were not writing Irish and that the latter was in no way preferable to their own native tongue. Indeed, the compilers of the Manx Bible might well be accused of being too progressive,[5] since they eliminated a number of legitimate particles and constructions which reappear in the readings made for this study by a modern native of the Isle of Man. In any event, the boldly insular language of the Manx Bible is a tribute to a clergy which undoubtedly preached much as it wrote.

Even more to be desired than a knowledge of the language of literary documents would be direct information taken from native speakers; the language may quite conceivably die out before such a report is made. This much only have I been able to do: Mrs. Wilfred (Essie Collister) Quayle, of San Francisco, a native of Peel, reads Manx fluently but cannot speak it.[6] This would not in general be reassuring; but Mrs. Quayle, when reading a printed text, inter-

style), Quiggin only occasionally gave joined words; Sommerfelt conceived of language as composed of isolated inflected roots (words found in dictionaries and in paradigms).

[3] By Borgstrøm and Holmer (see note 2 above). Material on Manx is difficult to find; those articles which promise something on Manx usually merely give a few odd verb forms or mutations (e.g. *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. 3, 1929, pp. 111–132, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol. 30, 1921, pp. 203–223). W. Cubbon, in *A Bibliographical Account of Works Relating to the Isle of Man*, Vol. 2, Oxford, 1939, pp. 749 seq. and 825 seq. lists texts, and pp. 815 seq. grammars and dictionaries, most of which I have not seen.

[4] This material has been collected from a group of native speakers here; some of it was published in the articles *Int.* and *IS*, mentioned below, p. 301.

[5] The usage of the 1819 Bible is far more "modern" than that reported by the grammars or by Strachan (below, note 15); on careful examination, the Bible usage is found to be confirmed here and there in other texts, while the grammar usage is rather too often based on hypothetical cases according to Gaelic or Irish norms. It is not possible to criticize either the 1819 Bible or the usages of Mrs. Quayle if either of these differ from those reported by the grammars.

[6] Mrs. Quayle knows these combinations by memory (besides a number of isolated words): *Canas ta shiu?* [k'enAs t'esu]; *Ta braew* [te br'aw]; *Quei shen?* [kw'ai sen]; *tra dy liooar* [tr'e· dAⱢj'ür]; *Ta mee fakin* [te mi f'ekIn]. Neither of her parents, nor any close associate of Mrs. Quayle, was a true native speaker; nor was E. Goodwin, from whom she took singing and language lessons. Mrs. Quayle attended various private classes in Manx and participated in Manx competitions; this of course proves no more than the possible acquisition of a reliable pronunciation.

sperses a number of particles and makes certain other alterations, all of which, on further study, appear to be legitimate forms, attested in the 1625 Prayer Book, or otherwise known through Gaelic. Furthermore, though she knows no Irish or Gaelic, her pronunciation includes several sounds which are not mentioned by writers on Manx, and all of which resemble Hebridean Gaelic; at the same time, her pronunciation lacks other sounds reported for Manx words as they are used in local Manx English speech. It appears to me quite reasonable, therefore, to record the readings of Mrs. Quayle for their substantial contribution to our knowledge of legitimate Manx, even though it may later be found that certain of her pronunciations are bookish, or local, or even false.[7] For this reason I have recorded the phonetics of Mrs. Quayle for such of my models of syntax as seemed most interesting, giving further consecutive texts in the Appendix; in order to permit the reader to judge how far her reading is consistent, I have used a rather full set of phonetic symbols, recording what I heard, and making practically no adjustments.[8] The almost absolute consistency with which Mrs. Quayle differentiates in her pronunciation of the same words in different phonetic contexts lends a very particular authenticity to her reading.

Several works proved invaluable in the grammatical analyses here undertaken. The Prayer Book, translated by John Phillips shortly before 1625–1630 (various non-Biblical passages, the complete Psalms, and many fragments from the New Testament), carries the language back three centuries; the inconsistent spelling is in general a help in analysis since it is somewhat more phonetic than the modern spelling. Kelly's *Dictionary* was wisely compiled (originally in 1805) without regard to literary or foreign artifices; words are labeled as parts of speech in accordance with their obvious force rather than their etymology; many short phrases are

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[7] The probable errors in pronunciation made commonly by Mrs. Quayle include the occasional substitution of [ts] for [X] for the spelling *ch-*, notably *dy chooilley ghooinney* (*all men*, Gaelic *gach uile duine*), which she pronounces [dAts'uLjA g'uNjA]. When I suggested [X] instead of [ts], she preferred to substitute [k], as if *ch-* were a mutation of *c-*. On the other hand, one cannot too quickly call error in other apparent departures: the demutations observed by Mrs. Quayle are found in the Bible; the sounds which she uses, but which are not reported by other authorities, are such as to indicate authenticity.

[8] That is, none of the legion of adjustments that give to Borgstrøm, for example, an air of unity and authenticity. The adjustment involved in my use of [·] to represent off-glides is merely a reserve with respect to their real nature; the adjustment involved in the elimination of any number of intermediate qualities between [e] and [ɛ] and of any number of lengths between long and short is one of practical audibility. The vowel and diphthong combinations I use exceed forty, which I believe is ample yet not excessive for a reasonably exact representation.

useful in understanding the syntax; unfortunately, no genders are given, but perhaps for many nouns they can never be stated; furthermore, many Manx words, especially compounds, appear only as definitions of English words and are not listed in the Manx section.

In the present study, the numbered examples and most of the incidental material (including all formulations of general syntactical rules) are from the 1819 Bible (John and I Corinthians complete, other texts as available in the Prayer Book). The reader must not forget that the rules stated by the grammars do not necessarily have any bearing on Bible usage. All phonetic transcriptions illustrating these examples are from the reading of Mrs. Quayle. Each example from the Bible is accompanied by the corresponding words from either the Prayer Book (when available) or the 1767 Gaelic Bible. An appropriate English translation, not always the King James version, renders by preference the meaning of the 1819 version.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SIGLA

Ioh 1.1)   *Yn Vible Casherick* . . . , London, 1819.

Dict.   John Kelly, *The Manx Dictionary*, Douglas, 1866 (The Manx Society, Vol. 13).

GB   *Tiomnadh nuadh Tighearna* . . . , Edinburgh, 1767 (New Testament only; later editions make various minor changes).

Gd   Edmund Goodwin, *First Lessons in Manx*, Douglas, 1901.[9]

Int.   F. Carmody, *The Interrogative System in Modern Scottish Gaelic*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Linguistics, I (1945), 215–226.

IS   F. Carmody, "Syntax of the Verb *IS* in Modern Scottish Gaelic," *Word*, I (1945), 162–187.

Jon.   Mme M. Sjoestedt-Jonval, *Description d'un parler irlandais de Kerry*, Paris, 1938.

Kn   J. J. Kneen, *A Grammar of the Manx Language*, Oxford, 1931.[10]

Mar.   C. Marstrander, "Remarks on the Place Names of the Isle of Man," *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, VII (1934), 285–334.[11]

PB   A. W. Moore, *The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic*, London, 1895 (*The Manx Society*, Vols. 32–33: translated by John Phillips before 1625–1630).[12]

PN   J. J. Kneen, *The Place Names of the Isle of Man*, 2 vols., Douglas, 1925–1929).[13]

Pr.   J. J. Kneen, *English-Manx Pronouncing Dictionary*, Douglas, 1938.[14]

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[9] Goodwin's grammar is an elementary practical course, based in part on the Bible, perhaps in part on direct oral information. Two useful and well-planned versions of Goodwin are in print, *Beginning Manx Grammar*, 2d ed., Douglas, 1940, and *Lessons in Manx*, Douglas, 1936.

[10] Kneen's grammar is of the reference type, with extensive word lists and paradigms, and useful bibliographical material on texts and census of speakers. The material on phonetics disagrees markedly with his pronouncing dictionary (note 14 below), and is inferior to it; no symbols are used for the sounds [L L r ɹ N k g θ]; his [ç] does not appear in his dictionary. Kneen cites no authorities; what he calls "colloquial" is invariably exactly the usage of the 1819 Bible (pp. 133, 143, 163, 164, etc.); what he calls "literary" is rather too often speculative. Certain distinctions are of the "Goidelic-legend" class, such as the imperfect tense of habitual action (p. 73), found occasionally in Irishy texts, also found in specially composed Gaelic texts, but completely foreign to Gaelic.

[11] Marstrander undertook little more than additions and corrections to the *Place Names* of Kneen (note 13 below); these are trivial or sporadic; the phonetic solution is phonemic, lacking various essential symbols such as [a ɔ ɛ I v w]; several distinctions are made that are probably valid, such as spirant [b].

[12] The long appendix to Vol. 33, by J. Rhŷs, offers a large number of reflections of very little interest except for these details: existence of nasal vowels (p. 31); intervocalic palatal [r] (p. 150); initial [sn] for *sn*- (p. 157); intrusive [d] before [n] in the South only (p. 160); *cha vel* in the South, but *cha nel* in the North (p. 160); extension of certain parts of speech (p. 162).

[13] The material is limited to adjectives, nouns, and prepositions; despite its arrangement by districts, no certain dialectal information can be gathered from it. Disagreement between the several appearances of the same word may at any moment be due to differences of stress or juncture, which are seldom indicated. Twenty-three consonants are used (to which one should obviously add [N L]), 8 affricates (not including any [Lj Nj vj sj]), 15 vowels, including long vowels, but omitting [i o u] as short vowels, [ä] as long vowel, and [U O ɑ] as distinct from [ü ö a].

[14] This is the best systematic display for pronunciation; the long vowels [a ɛ e i ɔ o u ö ü] are fairly certain, the short vowels include [ɛ A I] and other less well defined sounds, the diphthongs are apparently [ai öi ei Ai ui aw äw iu]; palatal and nonpalatal consonants are distinguished by [,] and [.]. The specific

Qu   Readings by Mrs. Quayle (see also Appendix, pp. 354–355).

SG   Colloquial Scottish Gaelic (according to further notes of the nature of those given in *Int.* and *IS*).

Sk   Manx poem of 1504–1522 quoted from Skene in the *Proc. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, 30 (1921), 210.

St   J. Strachan, "A Manx Folksong," *ZCP*, I (1897), 54–58.[15]

Voc.   A. W. Moore, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*, Oxford, 1924.[16]

effects of contiguous consonants on vowels, so marked in Qu, are seldom visible in the transcriptions. The genders given for most nouns were perhaps too often established by comparison with Irish or Gaelic, which is poor proof, given for example their constant alternations in the latter.

[15] This phonetic transcription, made at Bradda in 1883, is the most important printed record on Manx usage. The symbols are inadequate; those with diacritical marks are unintelligible, while [ɔ ɛ I ɑ ɹ ö] are not used at all.

[16] The *Vocabulary* of Anglo-Manx includes many Manx Gaelic words used in English conversation, mostly nouns, but also a number of interjections, exhortations, imperatives, etc. The phonetics are more advanced than those given in other texts; the material was gathered rather too indiscriminately to make it susceptible to any full single analysis, but it is probable that.all the material is authentic as found in oral usage. All spellings should be checked with Kelly's *Dictionary*.

PHONETICS

CONSONANTS .

The system of sounds represented in the 1819 Bible and used by Qu includes the expected mutations of mutable consonants, much as in Gaelic, nasalization by certain words, more evident in Irish, but at the same time a considerable amount of demutation and loss of certain consonants the existence of which might be expected or which are discussed elsewhere.

Nonpalatal

c k [k]	t [t θ]	g [g]	d [d ð]	b	m	p	f	s

Initial mutated

ch [X h]	h [h]	gh [g]	gh [g]	v	v	ph [f]	....	h [h]

Others mutated

gh [X -]	....	(g)h[-]	(g)h[-]	oo, w [u w]	f		....	....

Palatal

[k]	ch [ts]	[g]	j [dz]	b	m	p	f	sh [s]

Palatal mutated

ch [X]	h [h]	h y [- j]	y [j]	v	v	ph [f]	....	....

In general, double consonants represent single sounds; they are used to indicate the quality of the preceding vowel. There are several useless and apparently meaningless letters and combinations, for example the alternance of *c* and *k*, the use of *h* before *ll* and after *t*. A few written consonants are usually silent, for example the final *t* of most words in *-ght*;[17] final *-gh* may be pronounced or may be silent, perhaps in accordance with dialect or speed of utterance. There may well exist, as in Gaelic, various degrees of partial voicing and unvoicing of such letters as *c, g, d,* etc., but, except as mentioned below, there is no certain information on this matter. On the system of palatal consonants see page 306.

The letters *c, k,* and *ck* normally represent [k]; [g] is very exceptional in *PN* (p. 29), commoner in *Pr.*, rarely as [z] in Mar. Mutated [k], always written *ch*, is found regularly as [X] in *Voc.* and St; in *PN ch* is usually reported as [X] (pp. 139, 235, 287, 295, 342), but sometimes as [k] (pp. 358, 483). The usage of Qu is confused: she uses [h] in a few common particles for which St also reports [h] and which do not appear in *PN*, e.g. *cha* [ha] (*not*); when she recognizes *ch* as a mutation of [k], she uses [k], a fact amply illustrated by the standard practice in the Bible, the result of the system of demutation or replacement that I describe below: even though St

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[17] Loss of final [t] might be called "rather advanced" and sporadic; it is gone from several words in St and in such cases as *reeast* [re:s], *losht* [lɔs], *brisht* [bris] in *PN*.

retains intact the mutations recommended by the grammars, it is perfectly clear that the Bible does not observe these mutations; indeed, they were not always observed in 1625, and it is idle to assert that these texts were carelessly spelt. Furthermore, *ch* also represents palatal *t*, being the affricate [ts]; the dictionary distinguishes typographically between *ch* as [X] or [h] and *çh* as [ts]; Qu is undoubtedly in error when she uses [ts] for mutated [k] in such constructions as *dy chooilley ghooinney* [tAtsˋuLjA gˋöNjA] or [ðAtsˋöLjA], *PB dygh ully gúyne*, derived from the cognates of *gach uile dhuine*. Yet when one uses the word "undoubtedly" with reference even to Scottish Gaelic, one is usually wrong: *an aimsir* (*the weather*) is pronounced by a speaker from Sutherlandshire as [Antjˋämäsir] (i.e. *an t-eaimsir!*); Manx *cheu* (*side*) corresponds to Gaelic *taobh*: the initial palatalization, heard as [ts], is as unexpected as [tsˋöLjA]. Note that *PB*, in 1625, often shows *ch-* (for [X]) as *gh-*, as for example *gha* for *cha* (= *not*), *ghum* for *chum* (ex. 26).

The letter *g* is always [g] in all texts; initial mutated [g] is regularly written *gh-* and is always [g] in *PN*, *Voc.*, and Qu, although St shows the velar spirant [J]; *gh-* is also the standard mutation of [d], likewise [g] in *PN* (pp. 19, 58) and Qu (no examples in *Voc.* and St): the evidence of the demutation of initial [J] is greater than for *ch-*. Intervocalically, mutated [g] is written *-gh-* and pronounced regularly [X] in all sources except St, which shows [J]; in a few words *-gh-* is [g] according to *PN* (p. 20, but here Mar. gives [z]) and to Qu, e.g. *shaghey* [sˋeˑgi], *soaighey*, *toghyr*, and ex. 24, 26; this is sporadic (*PN* p. 28, Mar. p. 295); otherwise, *-gh-* is silent or almost silent, e.g. St *moghrey*, *gweeaghyn*. Pronunciation of intervocalic *-g-* or *-gg-* as [X] is very rare (*Voc.* [bloXAn] *coalfish*, also given as [blokAn]); *-gg-* as [z] is recorded only by Mar. (*beggan*) as [began] or [bezan]); final *-g* as [X] is also a very rare alternate (*PN ooig*, normally [uig], rarely [AX]). In short, *-g(g)-* represents [g], *gh-* represents [g], *-gh-* represents [X] with possible exceptions for a few words with [g] and with a dialectal [J] recorded by St alone.

Initial *d-* is usually represented by *PN*, *Voc.*, and St as [dð], less often as [d], while intervocalic *-d(d)-* is normally [ð]; initially, [d] alone is used by Mar. and *Pr.* These are phonetic variations of [d], but in no sense "mutations." Qu normally uses [d], never [ð] intervocalically, and [ð] initially only for certain words such as *dty* [ðA] (*thy*); her *dy* becomes [ðA] only occasionally, and perhaps only at high speed.

The letter *b* is in all sources most commonly [b] in all positions; Kn gives [v] as the "rule," but *Pr.* usually shows [b]; Mar. represents a spirant *b* apparently different from [v], which might indicate

that [b] is subject to minor aspiration but not so far as to become a real [v]. *PN* records intervocalic [b] more than fifty times (not counting any English words), either [b] or [v] (that is perhaps either, perhaps a sound lying between them) three times (pp. 19, 251, 285), and [v] alone four times (p. 33, 49, 52, and *Robin* p. 339). St contains the single example *obbal*, recorded as [obbal] (presumably ['ɔbAl]). The only real authority for *-b(b)-* as [v] is *Voc.*, which prefers [v], also mentions various occurrences of [b] or [v] (e.g. *babban, cabbag, stubbin, hibbin*), and indicates at least once [v] for *-pp-* (*tappag*; this is commoner in *Pr.*); but in proparoxitonic words, even *Voc.* retains [b] (e.g. *debejagh*). In short, the letter *b* may reasonably be represented everywhere as [b], as distinct from [v]. *PB* uses *f* for modern *u*: *if* (*iu* = *drink*), *difs* (*diuish* = *diubh-se*), *erifs* (*eriu* = *oirbh-se*).

The letter *s* is subject to change only intervocalically and after *n m r l*. In *PN* it is here normally [z], only rarely [s] (p. 12 from *-rs-*) or [ð] (p. 53). *Voc.* shows *-s(s)-* regularly as [ð], rarely as either [ð] or [s] (e.g. *scryssag*); Mar. shows [s] or [z]. St rarely found it possible to distinguish between [ð] and [z], although when *s* appears in the midst of a group of unstressed particles it is normally [ð] (e.g. *as yn, as ee*; but these with [s] in *Voc.*). Qu uses [s] in all words except *Yeesey, ayms, ayns, dauesyn*. It may perhaps be argued that [z] is preferable to the [s] used by Qu, and that [ð] is unusual.

Palatal *s* is normally written as *sh*, although in initial position before *l, m*, and *n* there is, as in Gaelic, hesitation or dialectal difference. Intervocalic *-sh-* is regularly [z] in *PN, Pr.*, and St, and often in Mar.; in St, [z], like [s], also appears inside of groups of unstressed particles, e.g. *lesh y* (*with the*), *rish y* (*to the*). Qu is apparently at fault in using [s] exclusively.

Initial *t-* is regularly [t] in *PN, Pr.*, and Qu, occasionally [tθ] in *PN* and Qu. *PN* records *-tt-* as [z] only for Manx *aittin* and English *cottier* (seven times), and as [z] in *lhiattee* (p. 45) and *baatey* (p. 50). Unlike the alternance of initial [dð] and intervocalic [ð], [t] and [tθ] apparently are merely two grades of aspiration differing with speaker, dialect, or speed of utterance.

A number of consonants are, in initial position only, followed by *-w-*, which may or may not be pronounced, on a purely fortuitous or dialectal basis: this fact would seem to indicate something like the Irish off-glide after labials. Examples include *bwon* (*stump, Voc.* [bɔn]), *bwooillee* (*sheepfold, PN* [bɔli], mutated [wili] or [vɔli], *Voc.* [bwUlji] or [bwölji]), *mwyllin* (*mill, PN* [müljAn]), *dwooie* (*detestation, Voc.* [dðu:i:]), *twoaie* (*north, Voc.* [tθwu:I]). The word *mooar*,

elsewhere always [mu:Ar] or [mu:r], is given by St as [mwu:Ar], mutated to [wu:Ar]. There is no trace of [w] in the usage of Qu. Post-consonantal *w* is apparently a sporadic off-glide.

The system of palatal consonants in Manx excludes any palatalization of [b f p m], shows full palatalization of [*L N*] by use of flanking -*i*-, full palatalization of *t* and *d* in the spellings *ch* [ts] and *j* [dz], without flanking vowel, and full palatalization of *s* in the spelling *sh*, with or without flanking *i*. The graph *ch* is replaced by -*t*-, sounding [ts], when in contact with a palatal consonant, by -*ti*- when sounding [ts] in contact with a nonpalatal; hence -*sht*- as [sts], -*sti*- as [sts]. *Voc.*, Mar., and *Pr.* call for palatal [*k d g t*] without [j]; palatal [*d*] is attested once by Qu in *va'n chied ghooin-ncy* (*the first man was* [v'ɛn kidg'ONA]), showing also that [i] and [j] may alternate in *chied* (St [anXiAd], *Pr.* [Inhj'ɛd]). The sounds [k g h v], when followed by the letter *i*, are palatalized as affricates [kj gj hj vj], and no doubt with some palatalization of the consonant itself; but *d* or *t*, commonly followed by flanking *i*, do not take affricate form, that is, they are purely and simply [d t], the *i* being meaningless. What appears to be abusive palatalization is occasionally found for [k] (*PN* pp. 56, 178) and quite frequently for *l* and *n*. The affricates [tj dj ts dz] are not used in Manx Gaelic.

The sounds of *l*, *n*, and *r* require special attention. *PN* and *Voc.* record [lj] where Qu and St show [*L*], that is, a fully palatal *l* as in Italian. None of the sources indicates a velar [L], used by Qu, though they do record the accompanying velarization of preceding vowels in accordance with the usage of Qu, indicating the probability of a standard [L], hence of dental [l], palatal [*L*], and velar [L]. [*L*] as used by Qu normally ends with [j], to which, in final position, [A] is commonly added. In initial position, *lh*-, in the usage of Qu, may be either [*L*] or [*Lj*] or [lh]; this last combination escaped my hearing at first, and then, when pointed out by Qu, took several rather elusive forms, that is, *lhiam* (*with me*) might be [*Lj*'iAm] or [IlA'iAm] or [lh'iAm] (cf. [li'ät] ex. 41), all of which may show abusive vocalization of a flanking vowel in a word which, according to *Pr.*, should be pronounced [*Lj*'Am] (but compare *chied* above). Final *l* without flanking *i*, and intervocalic -*l*(*l*)- are liable to sporadic palatalization by analogy in all my sources (e.g. *PN* pp. 91, 99); presumably the spelling is a reliable guide to the commoner and older grade involved in any given word.

Palatal *n* of the Italian type [*N*], also commonly with off-glide [j], can be considered in the same light as *l*, that is, it is indicated by flanking *i*, and is frequently found used abusively by analogy. Nothing seems to indicate a velar or hollow [N], unless [nn], given

by St along with [mm] and other doubles, indicates this or some related sound. (These doubled phonetic symbols, as used by St, may merely be slips imitative of the spelling). Before [k], *n* takes the velar quality of English [ŋ] in *king*, e.g. *cronk* (*hill* [krʻɔŋk]); *-inn* in Mar. and *Pr.* is [iŋ]. The spelling *ng* (from former [ng]) indicates [*N*] in Qu and St, but may also indicate [ŋ] in *PN* (e.g. p. 265). Like initial *lh-*, *nh-* takes an illusive sound in Qu, either [*N*] or [*N*j] or, for example in the word *nhee* (*thing*), what I took for [nAhʻi], then for [nIʻiˑ], finally for [nhʻiˑ]. The definite article *yn*, before front vowel, shows [*N*] (Kn p. 457). There is some confusion in final unstressed *-gin* and *-gn*: *shegin* is said to be better spelt as *sheign* (see ex. 57), but *caign* is given by *Pr.* as [kä:gIn], *cf. caigney* as [Käg*N*jA].

There are two recognized grades of *r*, initial and intervocalic trilled [r] and final or preconsonantal [ɹ], the latter being weak, sometimes silent, sometimes hardly more than an off-glide [A], sometimes mere length of the preceding vowel. *PN* and St make no mention of [ɹ], recognized however by *Voc.* The effect of [ɹ] on a preceding vowel is variable: it often is merely [ɹ], equally often [Aɹ]. The reader will note the constant effect of combinations of *l, n,* and *r* on preceding vowels, and of [*L*] and [*N*] on following vowels, when he has examined the meanings of the numerous vowel graphs given below.[18]

There are numerous other sporadic variations to be found in *PN* which must be discounted as occasional and unusual. Intrusive [d] before [n] in stressed syllables is, to judge by all authorities, a sporadic trait, most commonly seen in Mar., extended to [b] before [m] in *Tobm* (*Voc.*) and in *dreeym* (*PN* p. 108). Rhŷs states that [d] is a dialectal trait in the South (see note 12). I first heard [nʻidn] for *Kneen* in the pronunciation of Qu; but on reading back she would not accept [nʻidn], and it became apparent that the [d] was a glottal catch, much as heard in French *de* as implosive [d], while the [n] was long and almost a sonant; [nʻiʻnˑ] therefore represents Qu and is perhaps the solution required in some of the other reports.[19]

VOWELS

The system of vowels in Manx is obscured by the inadequate symbols used by all printed authorities. All assume, in the first place, that [i e a o u] before a double consonant or a final consonant

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[18] St records palatal [r] in *riu* [rju:] and *ooir* [u:r], etc., and Rhŷs mentions it intervocalically (note 12 above); in other authorities it has been replaced by [r] or [ɹ], leaving no trace of palatalization. Qu treats *riu* as [rʻiu], either as an error for [rjʻu] (as given by *Pr.*) or possibly as a valid shift of accent, not unknown elsewhere.

[19] Kneen, in his *Grammar*, p. 36, gives his own name as [krī:nⁱ], using one of his nasal vowels (none of which ever appear in his *Dictionary*); Mrs. Quayle, knowing the family personally, insists that his name is [nʻiʻnˑ]; so also *PN* p. 331.

are opener or less tense; St, for example, uses no special symbols to show [ɔ ɛ a I ö]. It has likewise been assumed for Gaelic that nonfinal vowels are more open, disregarding the possibility of retracted or unrounded qualities. As a result, the pronunciation of Qu sounds far more like Hebridean Gaelic than any printed report would suggest. Finally, those printed reports that do give aberrant vowel forms use symbols which can never be adequately translated into any reasonable single set: for example, [y] has been used in describing Gaelic in places where the vowel is a back unrounded [u], for which I use [U]; but it might also represent [ü], which I use to indicate a mid-rounded (fronted back-) vowel; it can hardly mean French [y]; hence the [y] of St is no doubt some close vowel, but no one will ever know which.

Instead of the makeshift symbols used by the different authorities on Irish and Gaelic, each conceived independently, each dependent on an excess of diacritical marks placed over or under such vowels as had not already been preëmpted, I use a physiological system of standard Italian and French sounds [i e ɛ a ɑ ɔ o u], adding English [ä] as in *hat*, a series of retracted front vowels [I E] which show also lower tongue position than the corresponding pure vowels ([I] represents English *hit*), a series of unrounded back vowels [U O Ɔ] and of fronted back vowels [ü ö], and shwa [A]. Attempting to interpret the various symbols used by other writers on Manx, I take for example the [i] of most of them as [i] in final position but as [I] in nonfinal position (stress has no bearing on this alternance).

It must be realized that in Manx, as in Gaelic, the quality of the vowels is variable in accordance with position and speed, far less so in primitive long vowels than in primitive short ones; however, it is not possible to systematize these qualities without complete knowledge of a host of very elusive factors. It must also be realized that length of vowel, in Gaelic and apparently also in Manx, is variable and irrelevant to the phonetics though not to the history of the sound shifts. It is not possible to use long or part-long symbols with any consistency, even though length can usually be seen to correspond to theoretical length in Gaelic or Irish. It is quite clear, for example, that Manx *ee* and *oo* represent [i:] and [u:], but they do not always sound [i:] and [u:]; their primary characteristic is that they are less likely to become [I] and [U] or [ü]; in a few specific combinations they may even become [j] and [w]. The representation given here is therefore one of audibility within the limits of profitable interpretation: the numerous qualities that might be recorded between [e] and [ɛ] correspond to the numerous degrees of length lying between [i:] and [i].

The symbol [:] has been used by all authorities on Manx, and most authorities on Gaelic and Irish, to indicate three completely independent factors—length, stress, and juncture. For Manx, Kneen (on occasion) and Marstrander (presumably always) also show stress. All authorities show dictionary words as independent visual entities, never as prefixes or as separate unstressed syllables; the reader is left to conclude that a "word" without a long vowel is "less important" than a word with one, but he has no way of interpreting the meaning of a "word" with a short vowel. Consequently, the symbol [:], as used by these authorities, is not a criterion for phonetic analysis.

In the pronunciation of Qu, historically long vowels may be long at slow speeds and short at high speeds. The vowels [i: a: ä:] cail for no comment, they are simply longer or shorter according to circumstance; but other vowels with length have off-glides at slow speed, for which I reserve the symbol [·]. The off-glide after [e] may be [ɛ], or, less often, [I i ʌ]; after [ɛ ɔ o] normally [ʌ]; after [u] usually [w] but also [I ö]; after [ö] either [ɹ] or [ʌ]. The off-glide is variable, as in English, and perhaps its specific quality is negligible; it most often takes the form of partial length; use of the specific symbol [·] appears to me the simplest representation of a highly complex situation.

The off-glide is quite distinct from the diphthong, which ends with written *i* or *y* sounding [i], [ʌ], or [I], or with *u* or *w*, sounding [U], [u], or [O]. The several possible sounds appear to be either occasional alternates or effects of contiguous consonants, but there is also evidence that they may be in some degree dialectal. *Oie vie!* (*Good-night!*) illustrates the dialectal nature of two diphthongs: according to Qu (citing from memory), [i vãi] is used at Peel and [ɔI v'Ai] in the North; Rhŷs (see note 12) recognizes [vãi], but no other authority mentions nasal vowels,[20] and Qu does not use them. The material given by regions in *PN* is not sufficient to establish dialectal traits.

The symbol for hiatus break ['] is used below in examples 23 and 52, and in the combination ['i'n·] in general; it is an implosive glottal movement akin to preconsonantal French [d]. It recalls a similar glottal movement of attack on the velar spirant [J] in SG after [n], leading [J] toward [g], and the similar break found in some combinations involving the Gaelic copula *'s è* before vowel (see *IS*, ex. 32).

Stress does not fall on certain parts of speech (notably verbs, adverbs, and pronouns) except as they stand in certain positions in a sentence; but if a word does bear a stress, it will fall on its first

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[20] The nasal vowels listed by Kneen (p. 36) are not used by him, or by any other authority, when phonetic transcriptions are given.

syllable (except for words in *-age, -ane, -eig, -ey*, etc., as noted below).[21] Stress is accompanied by high pitch; since there is only one grade, no secondary stresses can be noted. According to rules given below, certain words may stand disjoined and stressed (major syntactical parts), or disjoined and unstressed (minor parts, usually adverbial), or joined and unstressed (prefixes and suffixes, "words" only in the dictionary sense). Roots, whether they be full dictionary words or not, exist primarily as integral parts of joined clusters of syllables bearing a single stress. Shift of accent in hiatus is not attested (but see ex. 7).

SYSTEMATIC REPRESENTATION BY SPELLING

In the list given below appear the principal elements of an analysis of the written system of vowels, arranged alphabetically according to spellings. This is based almost entirely on words taken from running contexts as read by Mrs. Quayle; isolated words were not proposed to her. Given this complete disregard of material which she might anticipate, the unified nature of the result, and the considerable agreement with one or another of the multiple solutions of the printed reports, amply prove that Mrs. Quayle has a valid system. I have reported, unaltered, all words pronounced by her, in all readings she has made for me, which do not conform to the apparent norm; these may be errors, or they may represent influences of contiguous sounds which I have not been able to analyze, for example the effect of [L] and [N] on a vowel standing after them as well as before them. Along with the examples from Qu, I have cited proof or denial from the printed texts where any such further material seemed of interest; in order to do this, I have carefully adjusted the phonetic representation of the printed source to fit mine.

No systematic representation of the pronunciation of the vowel combinations could be based on *PN* or *Voc.* Each reports without notice the usage of a number of persons; *Voc.* makes no reference to the region of his source, and for the most part gives only words used in English conversation. An analysis could be based on the Bible, but it would be primarily historical and would require investigation into the history of Gaelic and Irish, which, so far as their vowels are concerned, is essentially unknown. It is evident, when one sets Gaelic words next to their Manx cognates, that the spellings of Manx, unnecessary as they seem from the phonetic point of view, have a historical meaning and were no doubt significant some centuries ago. I do not believe that it is now possible to present, as

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[21] All of the types involving noninitial stress accent, listed by Kneen (p. 40), are properly used by Qu, except those represented by *soilshean* and *reeriaght*.

an analysis of the Manx vowel combinations, much more than I have here prepared.

To the best of my knowledge, the only consonants influencing contiguous vowels in such a way as to render the spelling inadequate are [*L* l *N* n r ɹ] and the usually silent -*h* and -*gh*; -*eay*- and -*ui*- are special cases. The flanking vowels *i* and *y* are not always distinct; the difference between *shooill!* (*walk!*) and *shooyl*(*l*) (*walking*) (*Pr.* [*suL*] and [*sul*] respec.) may not be real. Final -*ey* accompanies ablaut to a front vowel position, for instance *garoo* (Gaelic *garbh*, Mar. [gˈaru]) as against *garey* (Gaelic *garadh*, Mar. [gˈeːri]). [A] never arises in sentence structure, but is found in a few words such as *da mraane* (*two women*, Qu [dAmArˈɛːn] and see *PN* p. 116), whereas most such words have the vowel added in the standard spelling (e.g. *casherick* for Gaelic *coisrig*).

The following scheme permits an appreciable shortening of the list of combinations. The letter *b*, placed alphabetically, represents all consonants, except where special entries give *l*, *n*, *r*, *h*, *gh*, or *w*. By *bb* I indicate any doubled consonant or any pair of consonants, counting the digraphs and affricates (e.g. *ch*, *sh*) as single sounds. The hyphen is used to represent any contiguous vowel or non-influencing consonant, for the latter primarily initial consonants. Hence -*ab* indicates vowel plus final consonant, -*abb*- nonfinal vowel plus two consonants, -*ab*(*b*-) the combination of -*ab* and -*abb*-. Stress accent may be the primary criterion, as grave accent alone, or may be immaterial, as grave accent within parentheses (ˋ); -ˋ*a* is a stressed vowel, -*a*ˋ is protonic, ˋ-*a* is posttonic, -*a* shows an unstressed disjoined word. By (*j*) I mean that the syllable begins with a palatal, either pure (such as [*L N s ts dz*]) or with [j] (such as [gj kj hj vj *Lj*] etc.), or that, if the syllable begins with a vowel, [j] is prefixed; but this (*j*) has no meaning after [b d m p s t], being then purely etymological. The addition of standard suffixes to form all types of derivatives has no phonetic effect; hiatus then arising requires no compensation or break.

In two columns I give phonetic symbols, the first for Qu, the second for *PN, Pr, Voc.*, or *Pr.* or *Voc.* When no symbol is given, the evidence has seemed to me insufficient; when a symbol is given, only several confirming examples are retained, but, so far as Qu is concerned, all examples which do not confirm the symbol selected are listed from all material gathered from Qu at any time. In order to avoid any possible influence of the vowel graph arrangement, I have made no further study of the usage of Qu, as, for example, attempting to fill in the missing material.

The vowel graph combinations are by no means exhaustive;

were they to be so, the whole dictionary would have to be analyzed and a number of additions made; this material, furthermore, would be inaccurate and incomplete unless some method could be devised for locating all possible unstressed forms.

-(ʼ)a	ʼɛˑ	ɛ	va [veˑ] (*bha*), vaʼn [vʼɛn] (St, *bha an*), ta [tɛ] St [te] (*tha*), tra [trɛ] (and *Pr.*) St [tra] (*tràth*), da [deˑ] St [de] (*dà*)
-a(b)ʼ-	A		myr ta shin [mör tA sʼIn] St [tA] (*mar a tha sinn*)
-a(a)(b)	a		cha [ha haˑ] St [ha], nagh [naX], agh [aX] St [aX] *Pr* [ɔX], as [as] St [ɑs] (*agus*), adsyn [adsIn] (*ad-san*), cʼraad [kra:d] *Pr.* [kräd] (*ce rathad*), daag eh mee [daX i mi] (*d'fhàg e mi*), va Ean [vaʼiɛn], va Juan [vadzʼun], na [na] St [na:] (*nagh*)
-ʼaa(b-)	ʼɛˑ	ʼä	ʼeː	faagail [fʼɛˑgAl] (*fàgail*), daa [dʼɛ] St [dä] (*dà*), traa [trʼɛ] St [trä] (*tràth*), braa [brʼɛ] (*bràth*), mraane [mArʼɛˑn] (*mnàthan*), daag oo mee [dʼɛːgu: mi] (*d'fhàg thu mi*), faase [fʼeˑs] (*fàs*), *Pr.* aaght [ɛ:Xt] (*shelter*)
-ʼaaib(-)			*PN* Spaainey [speiNA] (*Spàine*), faaid [fɛt vä:d] (*fòid*)
-ʼab-	ʼeˑ	e: ä	fakin [fʼekIn] (*faicinn*), shaghey [sʼeˑgA] *Pr.* [sä:JA] (*seachad*), vaney [vʼɛni] (*bhàine*), marish [m(ʼ)ɛriš] (*maille ris*), Mar. garey [gʼe:ri] (*garadh*) *cf.* garoo [gʼaru] (*garbh*), stackey [stʼe:zA] *PN* [stθa:gA] (*stack*)
-ʼaboo			Mar. garoo [gʼaru] (*garbh*)
-ʼab(b-)	ʼä	ʼa ʼɛ	pastyr [pʼästAɹ] (*pasture*), bannit [bʼänIt] (*beannaichte*), mac [mʼäk], clashtyn [klʼäst(s)An] (St, *hearing*), lhiat [liʼät], carrey [kʼäri] (*caraid*), jannoo [dzʼänu] *Pr.* [dzInu] St [dziNu] (*dèanamh*), St harrish [harrIš] (*thar ais*)
ʼ-ab(b-)			lomarcan [lʼɔmArkAn lʼɑmArkAn] (*alone*), obbraghyn [ʼɔbrIXAn] (*oibrich*), O yishag [o: jʼIsAg] (*Oh father*)
-ʼaeb(-)			*PN* aeg [ʼeg] *Pr.* [äg] (*òg*), aeru [ʼe:rI] (*airidh*)
-ʼage	ʼɛˑ	ʼäː	rollage [rɔlʼeˑg] (*reultag*), *Voc.* carrage [kArä:g] (*black beetle*)
-ʼagh	ʼɛˑ	ʼäX	dy bragh [dAbrʼɛ:] St [dA braX] (*gu bràth*), gerjagh [gAdzʼäX] *Pr.* [gʼErdzAX] (*comfort*)
ʼ-agh	aX	aX AX	gortagh [gʼɔtaX] (*goirteach*), agh [aX], getlagh [gʼɛtlaX] *Pr.* [gjEtlAX] (*'g itealaich*)
ʼ-ah			peccah [pʼɛkE] (*peacadh*)
-aib	ai	abj	ain [ain] (*againn*), *Voc.* askaid [askadj] (*a boil*), St craid [kräⁱd] *mock*]
-(ʼ)aib(-)		e	aigney [ʼegni ʼeˑgni] *Pr.* [ä:gNjA] (*aigne*), *Pr.* naisht [nest]
-ʼaig		ʼe	*PN* drughaig [drAʼeg] (*of a wild rose*)
-ʼaie		ʼäi	*PN* traie [trä:i] St [trai] (*traigh*), faie [fɛi] (*a flat*)
-ʼaih	ʼai	ʼai	graih [grʼai] (*gràidh*), St graiagh [graiaX] (*gràidh-each*)
-ʼail(-)		ʼe	*Voc.* cordail [kɔɹðʼe:l] (*to agree*), ailey [e:ljAɹ] (*fishing ground*)
-ʼaill(-)	ʼa	ʼa	baillym [bʼaɭIm] (*b'àill leam*)
-ainb			haink [häŋk] St [henk] (*thàinig*), *Pr.* ainjys [ʼändzIs] (*friendship*)
-ʼaiyr			*PN* ny faiyr [nA fer] (*na feur*)

-ʼalb- ˈɔ ˈɔ walkal [wˈɔLkAl] (*walk*), *Voc.* jalloo [dzɔlu] (*dealbh*)

-ʼa(i)ne ˈɛ(ˈ) ˈɛ(d) unnane [Anˈen] (*one*), slane [slˈɛ·n] (*slàn*), Mylecharaine [mˈailikArˈɛ·nˈ], charraneyn [kArˈenAn] *Voc.* [kArä:n] (*cuaran-an*); see also -ʼab-

-ʼaol *PN* gaol [gaul] (*gobhal*)

-ʼau- ˈaw ˈäu laue [lˈaw] St [läu] (*làmh*), dauesyn [dˈawzAn] (*dàibhsan*), brau [brˈaw] (*breagh*), *PN* awin [ˈɔüAn] (*abhainn*)

-ʼayb(b-) ˈä ˈɛ· ˈä ˈe: slaynt [slˈänt] (*slàinte*), ayr [ˈɛ·r] (*athair*), *PN* Quayle [kwe:l], bayr [be:r bAr] *Voc.* [bäAr] (*bothar*)

-ayb(ˈ) A A ayms [(ˈ)Amz] (*agamsa*), ayns [An·z] (*anns*), St aym [äm] (*agam*)

-ʼayll *Voc.* shayll [sˈɔl] (*rotation*)

-e i I she [sI] (ʼs *è*), e(h) [i I] (*e*), ve [ve] (*bhi*) cre [kri· krä krI] (*creud*), St ge dy [ge ðA] (*ged a*)

-eab ɛ jeant [dzent] (*dèante*), *Pr.* ceab [kjAb] (*clod*), jean [dzen] (*dèan*)

ʼ-eab soilshean [sˈolsin] *Pr.* [söilzˈe:n] (*soillseachadh*)

-ʼea ˈi: ˈe: clea [klˈi:] (*lock*), bea [bi bˈɛ] (*beatha*)

-ʼeab(-) ˈi·A i:A feanish [fˈiAnIs] *Pr.* [fenIs] St [fiNIs] (*fianuis*), Ean [ˈien] (*Iain*), St mean [me:dn] (*meadhon*), *PN* lean [ljeːn] Mar. [Lˈe:dn] (*leathann*). But dean *is as if* jinn Qu St [dzˈin] *Pr.* [dzen] (*dean*)

-ʼeabey ˈɛ· ˈe: nearey [nˈɛ·ri] (*nàire*), ghearey [gˈɛ·ri] (*gàire*)

-ʼeagh ˈiʌ beagh [bˈiAX] (*Pr., bitheadh*), Mar. chreagh [Xri:X] (*creach*)

-ʼeaib ˈɛ *PN* skeaig [skˈɛg] (*bush*)

-ʼcail(l-ey) ˈe: *Voc.* meailey [me:ljA] (*bowl*), *Pr.* feailley [feLjA] (*féill*)

-ʼeayb e *Voc.* cleaysh [kle:ʃ] (*cluas*), *Pr.* feayslee [fesli] (*fuasgladh*)

-ʼeayec geayce [gi:] *PN* [gˈei gˈöi göi] *Pr.* [göi] (*gaoithe*), *Pr.* geay [güA] (*gaoth*)

-ʼeayl(l) cheayll [k(ˈ)il kˈiLj] St [Xül XIl] (*chuala*), *PN* eayl [ül] (*Pr., lime*), ny meayl [nA möl] (*na maoile*), *Voc.* meayllee [me:li] (*hornless cow*), *Pr.* freayltys [friAltIs] (*preserve*)

-ʼeayn (-) ˈi ˈi:ʌ cheayn [kˈiˈnˈ] St [kIdn] *Pr.* [kü:In] (*cuan*), keayney [kˈiNjA] (*caoineadh*), veaynee [vˈiNI] (*of mineral*), *PN* meayn [mi:An] (*mèinne*), sheaynt [sent] (*seunta*), *Pr.* cleayn [klen] (*beguile*)

-ʼeayr(b-) deayrtey [dˈiati] (*dòrtadh*), feayraght [fˈeraX] (*fuarachd*), *Pr.* keayrt [küErt] (*cuairt*), mygeayrt [mAgi:rt] (*mu'n cuairt*)

-cb eˈ lesh [les], shegin [sˈeˈgnˈ] (ʼs *éiginn*)

-(ˈ)eb(b-) ˈɛ ˈɛ vel [vˈɛl] (*St, bheil*), sneg [snˈɛg] (*sneag*), ennym [ˈenEm] (*ainm*), mennick [mˈenEk] St [mennIk] (*minig*), ec [ɛk] (*aig*)

-ʼeb- ˈe ɛ credjal [krˈedzAl] (*creid-eil*), eshyn [ˈesIn] (*eisean*)

ʼ-eb(-) casherick [kˈasArIk] (*coisrig*)

-ʼeeab ˈi:ʌ *PN* ny mecal [nA mi:Al] (*nam beul*), feeagh [fi:AX] (*fitheach*), *Voc.* skeeal [skiAl] (*St, sgeul*), lheeah [lji:A] *PN* [ljeː] (*liath*), *Pr.* clceau [kljɔu klju] (*breast*)

(')ee(b-) (')i I   i: I   mee [m(')i], erbee ['öɹbi] St [ɛrbi:] (*air bith*), nee'n [ni'n·] (*nɤ̀ an*), cheet [tsʼit tsIt] *Voc.* [tsIt] St [tsit] (*teachd*), sheese [si:s] (St, *sɫos*), imbee ['Imbi] (*iomchuidh*), whilleen [hwIlin] St [XweLAn] (*as much*); n.b. Yeesey [j'e·zi] (*Iosa*)

-'eeib 'i: 'i: leeid [Lj'i:d] (*lead!*), *Voc.* jeeig [dzIg] (*dìg*), *PN* keeil or keeyl [ki:l(j)] (*cill*), *Voc.* jeeill [dzi:l] (*damage*)

-'eeyb   *PN* dreeym [dŏrIm dri:m dri:bm] (*druim*), *Voc.* streeys [stɵri:As] (*strɤ̀th-*), keeyl [ki:l] (*cill*)

-'eeu(-) 'u   *Pr.* screeuyn [skruIn] (*letter*), screeu [skru] (*sgriobh*)

-eh   jeh [dze· dzɛ] St [dzA] (*de-igh*), eh [ɛ· i] (*e*), cha nee eh va'n [ha·ni·ev'en] (*cha 'n ɤ̀ e bha an*)

-'eib-   e: St sleityn [sLe:ᶦdAn] (*sleibhtean*), sheidey [se:ᶦdA] (*blowing*), Mar. greiney [gre:NA] (*gréine*)

-'eig   'e   *PN* injeig [indz'eg] (*corner*)

-'eih   ᶜ   leih [l'i:] (*logh*), St reihee [röi] (*choice*), *Pr.* beih [be] (*birch*)

-(')ei(g)h   ai   öi   ei   veih [vai vOi] St [wi:] (*bho*), leih [lai] (*logh*), *Voc. (PN)* cleigh [klɛi] *Pr.* [klöi] (*claidh*), teigh [dŏei] (*hatchet*)

-'eill   'i: e: eill ['i:LjA] (*fhuil*), reill [r'iLjA] (*rɤ̀oghail*), seihll [s'iLjA] (*saoghal*)

-(')e(i)n(n)   ɛ   ɛ   ren [rɛn] St [rɛdn] (*rinn*), *PN* breinn [brɛdn] (*breun*)

-'ene   'i   'i: hene [h'i'n·] St [hi:N] (*fhéin*)

-'eoagh   *Voc.* freoagh [friAX] (*fraoch*)

-'eobe   Mar. heose [h'o:s] (*shuas*)

-'eo(a)i(e)   'ɛi   ö:i   *PN* freoaie [frɔi frei] (*fraoich*), creoi [krɛi] (*cruaidh*), *Voc.* leoaie [lɛi] *Pr.* [löi] (*luathainn*), keoie [kɛi] (*wild*), *Pr.* feoilt [fi:lt] (*bountiful*)

-'eogh   *Voc.* keogh [kjɔX] (*cuthach*)

-(')er(')   ö   er [öɹ](*fhear*), fer erbee [för'öɹbi] (*fear air bith*), ver [vör] (*bheir*)

-(')eu   (')u   eu [u] *Pr.* [äw] (*dhuibh*), cheu [ts'u] St [tsOu] (*taobh*)

-eu'   *Pr.* neu- [Njäw'] (*bad-*)

-'euib   euish ['uIs] (*dhuibh-se*)

-ew   *see* -iu; *Pr.* dewil [däwll] (*cruel*)

-'ey   'i: key [k'i:] (*quay*), lhieeney [lin'e] (*lionadh*), arrey [ar'i·] (*fhaire*), *PN* skey [ski] (*sgiath*)

'-ey   i   A   faassaghey [f'e·sAgi] (*fàsachadh*), vaatey [v'ɛti] (*bhàta*)

'-L(N)ey   A   A   ooilley ['uLjA] (*uile*), creeney [kr'iNE] (*crìonna*), *PN* keylley [ke:lj] (*coilleadh*), St billey [biLA] (*tree*)

-'eyir   *PN* ny seyir [nA sä:r] (*na saor*)

-'eyl(l)   'i: *PN* keyl [ki:l köl] (*caol*), geyll [gi:l] (*spring*)

-'eylley   'e: *Voc.* keylley [ke:lj] (*coille*)

-'eynn   *PN* reynn [rɛIdn rain rɛn] (*roinn*)

-'eyrey   deyrey [d'ɛrɛ] (*daor-adh*)

-'iab(-)   'iA   (j)a   lhiam [lh'iAm] (*leam*), kiarit [k'iEt] (*ceart-aichte*), *Voc.* biatchagh [bi:tsAX] (*food-house*)

-'iaght   (j)'a   (j)ä   my hiaght [mAX'aXt] (*mo sheachd*), St shniaght [sNjäXtA] (*sneachda*), *Pr.* briaght [br'aiAXt] (*enquiry*)

'-iab-   (j)A   reeriaght [r'i:rAX] *Pr.* [rir'iAXt] (*rioghachd*), toshiaght [t'ɔ·sAX] (*toiseach*), *PN* jiarg [dzArg] (*dearg*)

-'iall-			*Voc.* biallagh [bɑiAlaX] (*bàidhealach*)
-'iar(b-)	(j)'a	(j)ɛ	Chiarn [tsj'a·n] (*Tighearn*), niartaghey [n'iate:gi] (*neartachadh*), *PN* shiar [sar] (*siar*), St jiarg [dʒarg] (*dearg*), *Voc.* kiare as feed [kjeʌr as fi:d] (*ceithre agus fichead*)
-'iau	(j)'aw	(j)ɔ	niau [Nj'aw] (*nèamh*), Mar. giau [goː] *Pr.* [gjɔ] *PN* [gjɔː] (*geamh?*), *Voc.* shliawin [slɔːwAn slɔUn] (*sleamhuinn*), *Pr.* shiaull [sɔl] (*seòl*)
-'iauyr			St liauyr [LjauAr] *Pr.* [Ljawr] (*leobhar*)
-(')ib(b-)	(')I	I	jig [dʒ'Ig] (*d'thig*), whilleen [hw'llin] St [XweLAn] (*as much*), tilgit [tθ'IlgIt] (*tilgte*), shin [sIn] (*sinn*), mish [m'Is] (*mise*), ashlishyn ['ä·slIsIn] (*aislingean*), imbee ['Imbi] (*iomchuidh*), -in [In] (St, verb endings)
-(')ie	(')ai	ai	hie [hai h(')ai] (*chaidh*), St *unstressed* [hAi], *conditional* [hAin] (*chaidh-inn*), thie [tθ'ai] (*taigh*)
-'ieau		(j)ö	rieau [r'iO] (*riamh*), *PN* slieau [sljö] (*sliabh*)
-ieb	i		chied [kid] St [XiAd] *Pr.* [hjed] (*cheud*)
-'ieb			*Pr.* gien [gjen] (*cheer*).
-iee-			lhieeney [lin'e] (*lìonadh*)
-'ieu	(j)'u		scrieu [skr'u] (*sgriobh*)
-'ill-			St billey [biLA] (*tree*)
-'ine		'ɑin	*Voc.* drine [dɔ̃rain] (*thorn tree*)
-'io(bb-)	(j)'o	(j)oː	my-e-chione [m'aikj'on] (*mu a chionn*), liorishyn [Lj'ɔrIsAn] (*thus*), *PN* kion(e) [kjoːn] *Voc.* [kjɔdn kjoːn kjɔUn] Mar [k'oːdn] (*ceann*), *Voc.* chiollagh [tsɔlaX] (*teallach*); *n.b.* Qu miolagh [m'ɑilAX] (*mealladh*) *as if for mial-?*
-'iooar	(j)'uːʌ	(j)uː	dy liooar [dALj'ur -ür] *Voc.* [ðAlju:ʌ] (*gu leor*)
-'ioyb		(j)oː	vioys [vj'ɔis] *Pr.* [bjoːs] (*bheatha-sa*), St yioyms [jaums] (*gheobh-aim-sa*)
-(')iu(i-)	(j')uˑ	(j')u	shiu [suˑ] (*sibh*), shiuish [sj(')us] (*sibhse*), diu [du] (*diubh*), jiu [dʒu] (*an diugh*), scriut [skr'uˑt] (*sgriobhta*)
-'iw			briw [br'üi] *Pr.* [brju] (*breitheamh*), *PN* cliwe [klɛIU] *Pr.* [kljäw] (*claidheimh*)
-'iy		'ai	*Pr.* siyn [s'ain] (*soithean*), *PN* chiyt [XItj] (*chait*)
-'o			*Voc.* cro [krɔː kroː] (*cnò*)
-'oab	'ɔˑ	'oˑ ɔː	foast [f'oˑst] (*fathast*), hoal [h'oL] (*flow*), cioan [kl'ɔ·n] (*clann*), *PN* coan [koːAn] (*cobhan*), *Voc.* coadey [kɔUðAɹ] (*cuidich*)
-'oaib(-)	'oˑ		soaighey [s'oˑgi] (*soitheach*), ghoaill [g'oːLj] St [JoaL] (*gabhail*), *Voc.* doaiagh [dðɔːjaX] (*dòigh-each*), froaish [f(Λ)roːs] (*swagger*)
-'oaie			*Voc.* doaie [dðɔːi] (*dòigh*), *PN* twoaie [tθwuːi] (*tuaithe*), Mar cloaie [kl'ei] *PN* [klɔi] (*cloiche*), *PN* oaie [ei] Mar [eːi ei] (*uaigh*)
-'oauyr			*PN* roauyr [rau(Λ)r] *Pr.* [rɔur] (*reamhar*)
-'oawr			*Voc.* foawr [f'ɔuAr] *PN* [fɔr] (*famhair*)
-'oayl		ɔː	St voayl [vo:l] *Pr.* [bɔːl] (*spot*)
-'oayr(b)	'ɔ	'ɔ(Λ)	roayrt [r'ɔɹt] (*rodh-airt*), loayrt [l'ɔɹt Lj'üˑt] (*labhairt*), *PN* goayr [gɔr] (*gabhar*), ny moayrd [nA mArdð] Mar. [nA m'oːd] (*nam bòrd*), *Voc.* coayr [kɔʌɹ] (*chest*)

-ob   son [sɔn san] (*son*)
-'ob-   lomarcan [l'ɔmArkAn l'ɑ-] *Pr.* [lA-] (*alone*)
-'ob(b-) 'ɔ   'ɔ   olk ['ɔlk] (*olc*), goll [gɔL] (*dol*), obbraghyn ['ɔbrIXAn]
                  (*oibreachan*), lossey [l'ɔsi] (*losgadh*), follym [f'ɔLjAm]
                  (*falamh*); *n.b.* sollys [s'olAs] (*solus*), dorraghys [d'ɑrA-
                  XAs] (*dorchadas*)
-'ogh-   toghyr [t'o:gAr] (*tochair*)   .
-oh   shoh [so] (*seo*)
-'oï   nyn oï [nIn'ɔi] ('*nan déigh*)
-'oi(b) 'ai   quoi [kw'ai] *PN* [kw'ɛi] (*cé, co*), noid [n'ɔidJ *Pr.* [nAd]
                  (*nàmhaid*), *PN* scroig [skrɔ:g] (*lime*), St roish [ros]
                  (*roimh*), Mar. loisht [l'ɑ:ʃ] (*loisg*)   .
-'oie 'ɔi   'öi   'ɛi   oie ['ɔI i·] *Voc.* [ɛi] (*oidhche*), *Voc.* cloie [klɛi] *Pr.* [klöi]
                  (*cluich*)
-'oi- 'o   o: soilshey [s'olsA] *Pr.* [söilzi] (*soillse*), gerjoil [gArdz'o:l]
                  Pr. [gErdz'o:IL] (*gaird-eamhuil*), *Voc.* droin [dðro:n]
                  (*hump*), doillee [dðAli] (*duilich*), *PN* toinn [tθo:n] (*tòn*)
-(')oo(b) (')u   (')u: oo [u] (*thu*), doo [du] (*dubh, as* [döf] *sometimes in PN*),
                  St yarrood [jaru:d] *Voc.* [dzAr'u:d] (*dhearmhaid*), *PN*
                  broogh [bru:] (*bruach*)
-'ooab   'uA   u(:)A   phooar [f'uAr] (*power*), hooar [h'ur] (*fhuair*), dooar
                  [d'uAr] (*d'fhuair*), *PN* mooar [mu:r muAr] *Pr.* [muAr]
                  Voc. [mu:Aɹ] (*mór*)
-'ooab-   w'A   *Pr.* ooashley [w'AzLjA] (*uasail*)
-'ooiab   booiagh [b'OjAX] (*boidheach*)
-(')ooib (')u   egooish ['ɛ·guʃ] (*agaibhse*), cooish [k'us] (*Voc., cùis*),
                  dooin [d'un] (*duinn*), St trooid [tru:ᶦd] (*through*), *PN*
                  ooig [AX] *Pr.* [ug] (*ùig*)
-'ooie   'u·i   u:i   mooie [m'u·i·] (*a muigh*), *PN* brooie [bru:i] (*brughaidh*),
                  Voc. dwooie [dðu:i:] (*detestation*)
-'ooi (*L N*) u: ooilley ['uLjA] (*uile*), chooilley [ts'öLjA k'uLjA] (*h-uile*),
                  shooill (s'u·L] (*siubhal*), vooinjer [v'ONjAr v'uNjAr]
                  (*mhuinter*), *PN* chooill [kölj] (*cùil*)
-(')ooyb   u: dooys [dOAs] St [d'ů:s] (*domhsa*), dooyrt [d'uɹt] (*dubh-
                  airt*), *PN* cooyl [köl] (*cùl*)
-'oub   *Voc.* jough [dzɔX] (*deoch*), coull [kɔöl] (*coll*)
-'ouyr   bouyr [b'u·r] (*bodhar*), *PN* rouyr [raöAr] (*ridge*), ouyr
                  [aur] (*odhar*), *Pr.* fouyr [fawEr fouEr ?] (*foghmhar*)
-(')ow(-) 'aw   row [r'aw] (*robh*), fow [f(')aw] (*faigh*), gow [g(')aw]
                  (*gabh*), dowin [d'awn] (*domhain*), *PN* tawl [tθo:l] *Pr.*
                  [to:l] (*toll*)
-'oyr   'ɔ(A)   o:A   gloyr [gl'ɔAr] (*glòir*), stoyr [st'ɔr] (*store*), voyrn [v'ɔirn]
                  (*mhùirn*), choyrt [ts'ɔrt] (*tabhairt*), moyll [m'ɔLjA]
                  (*mol*), *Pr.* coyr [kɔ:r] (*chest*), coyrle [kArl] (*comhairle*)
-'oylley   o: soylley [s'o:LjA] (*sòlas*)
-(')ub   (')A   hug [h(')Ag] St [h'ug] (*thug*), *cur dooin* [kAd'un] (*cuir
                  duinn*), uss [As] (*thusa*)
-'ub(b-) 'ɔ   fud-ny-hoie [f'odi h'ɔi] *Voc.* [fAdðA'] (*fad na h-oidhche*),
                  churragh [k'ɔrAX] (*corrach*), vuddee [v'ɔdi] (*damsel*),
                  uss ['ɔs] (*thusa*)
-'uee   *Pr.* guee [gwi] (*guidh*)

-'uib	w'i	(after [b f kl]) *Voc.* buigh [bwi:] (*buidhe*), *Pr.* lhuingey [lwiŋA] (*luinge*); *Voc.* buitsh [b'uts] (*buidseach*)
-'uib	(j)A	(after [*L* kj]) cuin [kjun] *Pr.* [kwI*N*] (*c'ùin*), *Voc.* cluic [klju:k] (*sly person*)
-'uib	'I	(after [g kl]) *Voc.* cluick [klIk] (*clìc*), guilley [g'IljA] *Pr., gille*)
-'uib	'u	(after [d n p]) duin [d'un] (*duinn*), *Pr.* nuiddragh [nudrAX] (*cuddle*), *Voc.* uill [jüL] (*fhuil*); Qu fuirree [fOri] (*fuirich*)
-'uib	'u:	(after [kr]) *Voc.* cruill [kru:l(j)] (*curve*), *Pr.* cruick [kru:Ik] (*bucket*)
-'uiy		*PN* guiy [gei] *Voc.* [gAi] (*gèadh*)
-'uy(-)		*PN* ruy [rui ròi rei rAi rüi] *Pr.* [r'öi] (*ruadh*), ruyagh [rɔ:X] (*ruddy*)
-w'oa-		*PN* bwoaillee [büli] *Voc.* [bwAlji] (*buaile*), woaillee [wili voli] (*bhuaile*), *Voc.* dwoaie [dðu:i:] *Pr.* [du:i:] (*detestation*), twoaie [tθwu:i] *Pr.* [tu:i:] (*tuaithe*)
-w'y-		*PN* mwyllin [müljAn] (*muileann*)
-(')yb(-)	'l	fys [f'Is] (*fios*), nyn [nIn] (*nan*), ymmyrkey ['ImrIkE] (*iomchar*), ynsagh ['enzAX] (*ionnsaichte*)
-y(b)'	A	ny [nA] (*na*), gys [gAs] (*gus*), -ym [Am] (St, -*aim*), myr [möɹ] (*mar*); *n.b.* my y- [mE'e] (*mo i-*), dy my [dEmA] (*'gam*), dy olk [deɔlk] (*de olc*), *Voc.* syn l- [senl'] (*'san l-*)
'-yb(b-) I	I	adsyn ['ädsIn] (*iad-san*), er y thalloo [örItθ'alw] (*air an talamh*), fastyr [f'ästIr] St [fastAr] (*feasgair*), ennym ['enEm] (*ainm*), ad y vroo ['ädivr'u] (*iad a' bhrùth*)
'-yei		St syei [sAi] (*suidh*)

MORPHOLOGY

Nouns

The indefinite noun (without article or other prefix) may be called the simple form. Except as mentioned below, with respect to a few genitives, there are no endings or interior vowel mutations other than for the plural; this loss of distinction for case coincides with a very similar trend in colloquial Gaelic, that is, only a few strong nouns exist, and only under limited circumstances is there any indication of case other than by position within the sentence. A noun placed after another noun is a possessive; as a proper name, it is usually mutated, as in Gaelic: *leigh Voses* (*the law of Moses*), *Mac Ghavid* (*the son of David*), *Spyrryd Yee* (*the Spirit of God*), but *Mac Simon*. A genitive is recorded for a few nouns by *Dict.*, e.g. *banshey* (from *bannish* = *wedding*), *foalley* (from *feill* = *flesh*), and in the Bible, *geayee* (from *geay* = *wind*), *feailley* (from *feaill* = *feast*); it is interesting to note that *Dict.* considers these primarily as adjectives rather than as genitives, although all are found in the Bible, preceded by the definite article *ny* when they have the force of definite nouns (see the discussion of the adjective below, p. 324).

Plurals are formed by interior vowel alteration (*mac* = *son*, pl. *mec*), by change of *-agh* to *-ee*, of *ey* to *-aghyn*, or by the addition of *-ee*, *-eeyn*, *-teeyn*, *-teenyn*, *-jyn*, *-tchyn*, *-nyn*, or *-inyn* (Gd p. 73). After *da* (*two*) and its compounds, the singular is commoner than the plural.

After the definite article singular feminine, mutable consonants are mutated and *s-* eclipsed by *t-*: *muc* (*pig*), *yn vuc* (*the pig*), *fockle* (*word*), *yn ockle*, *sooill* (*eye*), *yn tooill;* the *s-* of initial *st-* disappears (*straid* = *street*, *yn traid*), but *sl-* passed through *tl-* to *cl-* (*slane* = *all*, *yn clane*). No change of any nature is effected on masculine nouns (*ayr* = *father*, *yn ayr; seihll* = *world*, *yn seihll; mac* = *son*, *yn mac*).

The genitive singular has the same form of both noun and article as the nominative, exactly as in Welsh (e.g. Ioh 4.39, 6.35, 6.53), with these exceptions: the article may here mutate certain initial consonants on masculine nouns (*yn feill* = *the blood*, gen. *yn eill*), but not always (*yn mac*, Ioh 6.53); *s-* will in every case be eclipsed by *t-* (*y theihll* = *of the world; yn traid* = *of the street; y clieu* PN [Aklju] = *of the mountain*); those feminines with special genitives will require the nonmutating definite article *ny* (*ny banshey, ny foalley, ny geayee, ny feailley, ny freoaie*); these special genitives are listed by Kn (p. 49), while *Dict.* often gives them as separate "adjective" forms. It is evident that most of the nouns may use

nominatives, unaltered, as genitives: masculines unmutated *PN* pp. 84, 144, 162, 185, 285, 358, mutated pp. 107, 180, 184, 305, 438, etc.; it may be, as suggested, that *f-* resists mutation (pp. 285, 402), but only sporadically (p. 340); it is, rather, use of a single case, as in Welsh. Use of *h-* before vowel and after *ny* (e.g. *cass ny hawin, PN* 138, 349, 381) is rare in *PN* and nil in the Bible.

The dative is a nominative used after a preposition, but *s-* is eclipsed by *t-* (*gys y theihll* = *to the world*). In 1625 the masculine noun was occasionally mutated (*rish y phobyl* = *to the people,* Mt. 11.7), in 1819 it was normally unmutated (Ioh 4.45, 5.20, 5.23, 6.27, 7.8, 7.12, 7.31, 7.43, etc.). Loss of initial mutation here, by replacement of cases, can be always considered acceptable, as in the 1819 Bible.

The noun in its plural form is used after the article *ny* (also before vowel, Ioh 4.20, 4.23, 4.33, etc.); Gd (p. 46) mentions use of unwritten [h] after *ny* before vowel, attested in *PB* (Ps 2.1, 8.5, 23.2, Rom 15.9, etc.), in *PN* (pp. 42, 341, 349) and in Mar. (p. 296). The genitive plural is said to follow the nasalizing article *nyn,* but this is only generally true for place names (*PN* pp. 158, 345, 360).

The vocative, at least in the masculine singular, shows initial mutation: *Chiarn* (*Lord*), *Hiarn!* (*Oh Lord!*); the particle *y* (*PB y Hiarn!*) is not used in 1819, but is reported by *Voc.* ([AXri:] *Oh heart!*). Note that the verbal noun, except as a genitive, can only be verbal: *y ianu-syn* (*PB* = *his doings*) was modernized to an indirect question (*cre t'eh er n'yannoo* = *what he is after doing*).

The genders of nouns are not given by *Dict.;* those established by *Pr.* may have been restored rather too speculatively from Irish and Gaelic. From *PN* it seems fairly certain that nouns used as genitives after *ny,* or modified by *vane* (*white*) and *veg* (*little*), are feminines, e.g. *annag* (*crow*), *awin* (*river*), *cabbyl* (*horse*), *clagh* (*stone*), *crock* (*pot*), *cooag* (*cuckoo*), *dreeym* (*ridge*), *geayee* (*wind*), *liargee* (*slope*), *moain* (*turf*), *ooig* (*cave*), *pairk* (*field*), *slieu* (*mountain*), *thalloo* (*earth*), *toinn* (*bottom land*), *traie* (*shore*), etc.

TRUE PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns accusative and nominative have the forms *mee* [mi], *oo* [u] (as *ou* after *t'*), *eh* [e] or [i], fem. *ee* [i], plural *shin* [sIn], *shiu* [sju], *ad;* the neuter *e* is commonly confused with *eh* in writing.[22] These pronouns may be enclitic syllables (personal endings of verbs) or disjoined unstressed words. To stress them, or to indicate any contrast between persons, the emphatic forms are

[22] In *PB, e* appears after *ligge* (*let*) as a redundant antecedent to a real object or an impersonal neuter subject: *Ligge e olkys y niau-ghraui chiit gys kian* (Ps 7.9 = *Let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end*); also Ps 7.5.

used, *mish* [mIʃ], *uss* [ɔs], *eshyn*, etc. The genitive is the possessive article; the dative forms real inflections on prepositions. The demonstratives *shoh* (*this*) and *shen* (*that*) may refer to any non-personal antecedent.

ARTICLES

All articles are unstressed joined prefixes to nouns. The definite article may be either *y* or *yn* indifferently; *PN* usually shows [An] before [k l m X]; *y* is commoner before mutated consonants in the Bible; after vowel, *'n* is required. The definite article as [A] or zero, as in Gaelic, is not related to Manx usage. The cardinal numerals are either articles or adjectives; they behave much as in Gaelic and Irish, e.g. *shey bleeaney as da-eed* (Ioh 2.20 = *six years and two score*); they may be joined or disjoined, compare *two women* (Qu [dAmArᵛɛn]), *my two hands* (St [mA Jä läu]), *the two hands* (St [nA dä Läu]), and *the two* (St [nA Jä]). For other typical examples see Ioh 4.52, 5.5, 6.13. The common ordinals have replaced the personal numbers, hence *three* (*three*) for *PB triûr* (see ex. 14).

Any article makes a noun definite, though under certain conditions the numerals and demonstratives have "specific" value; most proper names are definite without article. A noun modified by another noun in the genitive cannot have an article unless the two nouns form a fixed compound; if the modifying noun has an article, both nouns are definite. To modify a definite noun by an indefinite noun, the latter must be placed after a preposition, the attributive owner with *dy* (*gys ard-valley dy Samaria* Ioh 4.5 = *to a city of Samaria*), or the partitive with *dy* (*da*) or *jeh* (*da'n pheesh dy halloo* Ioh 4.5 = *to the piece of ground*). Infringements of the foregoing rules are discussed below, p. 325.

The possessive article has singular mutating forms *my* [mA], *dty* [ðA], and *e* [i], and nonmutating fem. *e* (*h-* before vowel); the plural has the single form *nyn* ([nAn] nasalizing; *PB* also uses *nar* for *our*). *My* and *dty* are sometimes apostrophized before vowel, but always remain syllabic for Qu, no matter how written: *my eill* (*my blood* [mAᵛi:LjA]), *dt'aigney* (*thy will* [ðAᵛegni]), *dty ennym* (*thy name* [ðAᵛɛnEm]); but St shows *my chree* [mAXri:], *my ghraih* [mAJrai], and *m'aish* [mäs]. The possessive article is used after prepositions without change: *son e vioys* (*for his life* [san i vᵛiɔis]), *jeh e noid* (*to his enemy* [dᶻe i nᵛɔid]), St [fo A kjodn] (*under her head*). *Dy* appears to represent *to his* (Gaelic *'ga*, e.g. Ioh. 1.38) and *dyn* the plural (in *PB*, modernized to *dy*), but *da e* is also found (Ioh 3.5). After the preposition meaning *in* (full form *ayns*), special reduced forms are listed by *Dict.*: *my, dty, ny* (ex. 34), pl. *nyn;* hence *T'ee er faagail my lomarcan* (*She has abandoned me, she is after leaving in*

my alone, see ex. 8); but in *PB*, and when the foregoing example was read by Qu, *ny* reappears, and *my* can be seen to be the direct object of the verbal noun [ti: örf'egAl mi nal'ɔmArkAn]; in effect, *ny* is the general singular possessive: *Ta mee ny hassoo* (*I am in my sitting*); in reading *son t'ayms my christey* (*for I have in my chest* [sɔn t'Amz AnsmAkr'IstA], Qu shows *ayns my* for *my*.

Special Adjectives

Several adjectives placed after pronouns or definite nouns form demonstratives (*this*), possessives (*mine*), and reflexives (*self, own*). The demonstratives offer no problems: *yn dooinney shoh* (*this man*), *y ven shen* (*that woman*). The possessives, as in Welsh, are redundant, but, as in Gaelic, they have come to represent free alternates with the possessive article. In Gaelic, the possessive articles are common as modifiers of names of living beings, the possessive adjectives as modifiers of common nouns; but *mo thaigh-sa* is still required if emphasis is thrown on the article (*MY house*, cf. *an taigh agam* = *my house*). *Dict.* gives these forms: *aym* (*mine*), *ayd* (*thine*), *echey*, fem. *eck*, pl. *ain, eu, oc* (all from the preposition *oc* except *eu*, Gaelic *dhiubh*, emphatic *euish* or *jiuish*, Gaelic *d[h]iubh-se*). Thus *in his name* is commonly *ayns yn ennym echey* (*in the name of him;* see ex. 48, 61, 65). Kn (p. 133) calls this "colloquial"; it is better called "standard." The new formation was not for clarity's sake, since plural *nyn* is very strong (*nyn Jiarn* = *our Lord, our* entirely by inference and having no antecedent). This free alternance was in full effect by 1625; a number of correspondences of the type *ta ny sooillyn echey* (Ps 11.5 = *his eyes are*) with *PB ta ny húilyn* illustrate the increasing use of the adjective. Another possibility in 1625 was the use of a personal pronoun object of the verb placed before mutating *y* (ex. 25, 122).

The adjective *hene* (Gaelic *fhéin*) may modify a pronoun or definite noun of person (*-self*, etc.), or a common noun (*itself*), or a noun governed by a possessive (*own*): *er e hon hene* (*for his own sake* [ör'i hɔnh'i'n·]), *shiu hene* (*yourself* [sjuh'i'n·]); after first persons in *-m* it took the form *pene: jee'm pene* (*to me myself*), *liorym peyn* (*PB* = *by myself*).[23]

As in English, the compound preposition may either require a possessive infix (*for my sake*) or be inseparable (*instead of me*); in

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[23] Initial *p-* is attested in *lem pen* in the Glen Masan *Deirdre*, 15th century, A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Cé<l>ticae*, Vol. 2, Inverness, 1894, p. 466. In the Book of the Dean of Lismore, *ca.* 1515 (ed. N. Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Edinburgh, 1939) one finds *diom péin* (verse 314), *liom péin* (v. 29), and *deirim péin* (*I myself say*, v. 1438). SG *féin* [fen] and *fhéin* [hen] are dialectal variants; *leam f(h)éin* never shows [p], but *sibh fhéin* is normally [si pen].

Manx, *er e hon* (*for his sake*) is a free alternate of *er son eshyn* (*for the sake of him*). Some appear to be inseparable, especially in the plural (*nyn oï* [nAn'ɔi] = *against us, you, them*); some prefer use of the possessive adjective along with the article (*nyn mast ain* = *in our midst*, see ex. 52). *Mychione* (*concerning*) may be inseparable, governing an accusative (*mychione eshyn*, I Cor 5.3) or a possessive (*mychione echey*, Ioh 7.12), or separable (*my-e-chione*, see ex. 50, 102), and either *mychione* or *my-e-chione* may be used as a pure adverb without reference to any specific noun.

SIMPLE PREPOSITIONS

The simple preposition is an unstressed prefix to its noun or article. Choice of preposition is in general that of Irish or Gaelic. Among the commonest prepositions are *ec* ([ɛk] *at*), *er* ([ör] *on*), *son* ([sɔn] *for the sake of;* also *ghon* in *PB*, i.e. Gaelic *chun*), *jeh* ([dʒe], *from*, based on both *de* and *déidh*, partitive in Ps 3.6, sometimes used for *dy*), *ayns* ([Ans] or ['ans] *in*), *veih* ([vai] St [wiː] *from*, alternate *voish* = St [wIs], Latin *ex*), *lesh* ([les] *with*, replacing *PB rish* for agent or instrument), *roish* ([rɔIs] St [ros] *before*), *rish* ([rIs] St [rʌs] *to, for*), *mysh* ([mAs] *about, concerning*), *gyn* ([gAn] *without*), *gys* ([gAs] *until*), *myr* ([mör] *like, as*), *dy* ([dA] *to, into*, partitive related to *de* and *gu*), and *da* ([da] *to*, related to *do*). Forms without final sibilant are found as prefixes in fixed compounds (*mychione; ry-chosh* = *on foot*); they and other phonetically weak forms were still freely used in 1625, for example *ie yn* (i.e. *de* + *an*, mod. *jeh'n*), *dy vrii* (mod. *jeh bree* = *from spirit*), *d'anym* (mod. *jeh annym* = *from spirit*).

Presence of the final sibilant distinguishes the commonest of the foregoing prepositions from their derived adverb (prepositional pronoun), e.g. *ayns* (preposition) and *ayn* (adverb = *in it, there*). *Dy* mutates all mutables,[24] *er* mutates in 1819 but nasalizes in 1625 (*er vrishey* = *after breaking, PB er mrishie; er choyrt* from *toyrt* = *giving, PB er doyrt*). According to Gd (p. 67), *gyn* mutates in close compounds (*gyn-vree* = *vigorless*) but not in loose ones (*gyn bree* = *without vigor*); in several such close compounds introduced by the preposition *er* the preposition has taken the stress accent from the noun, e.g. *erbee* (['örbi] *in the world, at all*, Gaelic *air bith*), *erson* (['örsɔn] *for the sake of*, Gaelic *air son*); this may be true for many others.

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[24] For example *dy ghoaill* (*to get*, St [dAJoaL]). The distinction between *dy* and *da*, the latter causing no mutation, is not clear. In Ps 9.19, *PB* shows *dy guyne* (*to a man*, where *g-* must represent mutated *d-*), but in 1819 at this spot one finds *da dooinney*.

INFLECTED PREPOSITIONS

The commonest prepositions are inflected in seven parts, having absorbed personal pronoun objects. Complete lists of these can be found in *Dict.* and Kn (pp. 69–71); the forms for *ec* and *da*, simple and with partly emphatic final sibilant, etc., are: *aym* (*at me*), *ayd*, *echey*, f. *eck*, pl. *ain*, *eu* (Gaelic *dhiubh*), *oc*; *ayms*, *ayds*, *echeysyn*, f. *ecksh*, pl. *ain-yn*, etc.; *dou* (Gaelic *dhomh* = *to me*), *dhyt*, *da*, f. *j'ee*, pl. *dooin*, *diu*, *daue*; *douys*, *dhyts*, *dasyn*, f. *j'eeish*, pl. *dooinyn*, *diuish*, *dauesyn*. The initial of the forms of *dy* was mutable in 1625, as regularly in Gaelic; but former *'uin* is now always *dooin*, *ga* always *da*; the mutation in 1625 was not of the normal type, that is, to the velar fricative, since the demutation of this sound, written *gh-*, is [g]; there were probably the two alternates, perhaps dialectal, of which that in *d-* prevailed. Mutated *diu*, that is, the form *eu*, has survived as a part of the possessive adjective, which in all other parts is based on forms of *oc*.

The inflected preposition is either an adjective or an adverb; as possessive adjectives, the forms are unstressed and disjoined (*Ayr ain = Our Father* ['ɛr ain]); after unstressed verbs they are stressed and joined (*t'ayms = which I have* [t'Amz]). After certain verbs they are stressed adverbial enclitics, separable only by verbal inflections, much like English *they burned out our friends, they burned them out*, e.g. *eshyn nagh gow rish briw* (*he who acknowledges no judge* ['ɛsIn naXgawr'is br'ui]); Jon. (p. 180) notes this same tendency in Irish. *Dict.* and Gd (p. 63) list numerous compounds of *goaill-*, *cur-*, *lhiggey-*, etc. After a few words governed by the phonetic remains of the copula *is*, the inflected prepositions are personal endings (ex 53 seq.).

ADVERB DIRECT MODIFIERS

The distinction between adverb and adjective in Celtic languages is primarily lexical and is ascertained by comparisons with other languages. Jon. (pp. 75 seq.) distinguishes: 1, nominal adverbs of time (*again*, with prefix *an*); 2, adverbs of place showing completion of an action (*go out, make out*, like *goaill-rish* above); 3, adverbs of location modifying nouns (ex. 9; *cheu mooie = on the outside = PB er cheu mui; cheu-sthie = on the inside* Ps 9.14 = *PB er laef stei*); and 4, adverbs formed by prefixing *go* to adjectives (ex. 7, 87). This last category is purely lexical; it includes a limited number of combinations; and *go* cannot be used after the copula. In SG a large number of these are preferred by some speakers and dialects without *gu*, that is, the difference between adjective and adverb is nullified. *Dict.* labels as verbs the interjection *seose* (*up with*) and

the adverb *ersooyl* (*away, gone*); if so classified, they must represent a special category of verbs having only an imperative in the one case and only a past participle in the other.

Manx uses the foregoing types. For *dy mie* (*well* = *PB dy mie*), *dy olk* (*badly* = *PB gy holk*), *dy follit* (*secretly*), etc., see *Dict.* sub *dy-*. By 1819 *dy* had been lost with certain adjectives (see Ps 10.15), hence *shickyr* for *PB gy sickir, casherick* read by Qu as [dAk'asArIk]; but [dA] is regularly used in St.

ADJECTIVES

The uses of the adjective in Goidelic are: 1, inflected and mutable direct modifiers placed after nouns; 2, emphatic close modifiers set in relief along with their nouns by emphatic inversion with the copula; 3, adjectives emphasized apart from their nouns; 4, predicate adjectives of permanent state or quality; and 5, predicate adjectives of temporary state after *go* (Manx *gy, dy*), often showing the result of an action, often indistinguishable from adverbs. Prefixes, such as Manx *drogh-, shenn-, ard-*, are not adjectives in the common sense.

Class 1 above shows plurals in *-ey* in monosyllables only, according to Gd. Mutation of the adjective is expected after feminine nouns and in the dative and the dual, but there are so many exceptions that one can hardly count on more than mutation of *b-* and *m-*. *Da eest veggey* (*two little fishes*) shows mutation in the dual; *er laue yesh* (*PB er lau iesh* = *on the right hand*) illustrates mutation of palatal *d-*. The mutated adjective after the noun and preposition is rare, Ps 17.15 (*PB ghon nan glann veggy*), Ps 2.12 (*PB vei yn ráyd gháyr*). Evidence is very contradictory, but it appears that the adjective is always stressed, and the noun unstressed if monosyllabic.

The past participle may be freely used as an adjective showing end result (*oaie foshlit* = *an open grave, PB na yoi foskilt*) or adverb (*dy gerrit* I Cor 4.19). The verbal noun in the genitive is a simple adjective (*paper-screeuee* = *writing-paper*), given by *Dict.* either separately or in a very large number of compound nouns indicating commercial products or types of professions, boats, plants, etc. The verbal noun after a preposition may also stand adjectivally (*fer-er-jeet* = *a come man; traa-ry-heet* = *aftertimes*), sometimes constituting the only known past participle form (*ersooyl* = *gone, after going*). Short relative or dependent clauses may also have the force of simple adjectives (*mac v'er-ny-gheddyn* = *begotten son; chiarn dy row* = *a certain lord*); *Dict.* so labels these (see *er-meshtey*, etc.).

In combinations of two nouns, if the first assumes the value of a

simple prefix, a new noun is formed. Manx shares with Irish and Gaelic the use of the adjectival prefixes *drogh-, shenn-, ard-,* etc.; Gaelic *ban-* gives a feminine (*woman doctor, female poet,* etc.); but the use of *fer-* and *dooinney-* in Manx, which would correspond in Gaelic to *man-, male-,* adds a new category of ideas and causes great changes in the lexicon. In *dooinney-ghoo,* as in its English translation *blackamoor,* the prefix can be seen by shift of accent in the English, by mutation of the adjective in the Manx, contrary to the other rules for mutation of adjectives. Without direct information on the place of the stress accent in Manx, no further analysis of this type of compound can be hoped for. From Qu I give examples of the unstressed prefix in *yn chied ghooinney* (*the first man* [Ankidg'ONjA], in St [XiAd] plus noun with long vowel, stress as such not marked), of the unstressed noun in *as gagh laa* (*and every day* (asg'aXlä:]), and, perhaps as being polysyllabic, with both parts stressed in *dy chooilley ghooinney* (*all men* [ðAts'uLji g'öNjA]).

Those nouns given by *Dict.* with hyphen and modifying genitive might at first sight be taken as compound nouns, that is, one might expect that the definite article would be placed before the whole group. Clearly, stress is then always on the modifying noun; the modified noun is unstressed if monosyllabic and if standing before an indefinite modifier, and stressed if placed before an article and if polysyllabic. Kn (p. 41) calls for equal stress on the old adjectival prefixes of the type *shenn-.* There is no information concerning the stress when the modifying noun is a genitive verbal noun.

The type *fer-coonee* (*man of helping, helper-man*) mentioned above involves the use of a non-Gaelic prefix *fer* modified by the genitive verbal noun, called an adjective by *Dict.* There is the similar construction *dooinney-poosee* (*wedding-man, groom*), formed like the standard Gaelic commercial product compound noun *writing-paper* (Manx *paper-screeuee,* Gaelic *paipear-sgriobhaidh*). In Gaelic this is a real compound noun, hence *am paipear-sgriobhaidh so* means *this writing-paper;* but it must be clearly understood that this is a rare and rather technical form for *paipear air son sgriobhaidh* (*paper for writing*); *writing-paper* is a general compound in English only; consider the difference between *that house-door* and *the door of that house,* the former being a very special idea. The situation in Manx is obscured by lack of native speakers, since it is vain to hope to find suitable examples of these compounds in literary texts. From a few examples in the Bible it would appear that in Manx the foregoing are not necessarily compound nouns, except possibly as datives and genitives. The examples as nominatives or accusatives are: *eshyn dooinney yn phoosee* (Ioh 3.29 = *he is the*

bridegroom, also Mt 9.15), *Mac y dooinney* (Ioh 6.62, also as compound dative, Mt 8.20, 9.6, and genitive Mt 12.32 = *the son of man*), with simple genitives; compare the compound nouns of *yn fer-coonee* (Ps 10.16 = *PB yn fer kuni*) and *PB my voghil y keragh* (Ps 23.1 = *my herder-of-the-sheep* = *my shepherd* = 1819 *my vochilley*); as object of a preposition, the compound noun is found in *er y dooinney-phoosee* (Ioh 2.9 = *to the bridegroom*), but in *PB* the simple genitive was used (*er dúyne yn phusi*); in the genitive, there are more good examples of compound nouns, *coraa yn dooinney-poosee* (Ioh 3.29 = *the voice of the bridegroom*, also Mt 9.15), *feill yn Mac dooinney* (Ioh 6.53 = *the flesh of the son of man*, also as nominative Mt 13.41). Example 30 shows the compound noun in *dty er-ynsee* (*in thy man of learning*).[25]

<div align="center">VERBS</div>

The simple verb is either stressed (on the first syllable of a polysyllabic form) or unstressed (if placed after adverbs or in dependent position to any inverted word). Prefixes that do not affect stress are the true conjunctions, certain adverbs, and the standard particles, e.g. *cha vel eh* (*he isn't* [hav'ɛlI]), *as ny leeid shin* (*and lead us not* [As nAL'idsIn]), St [ha rau äm] (*I didn't have*); but such inversions as *e laue cheayll mee* (*his hand I heard* [il'aw kil mi]), and several examples of [hAi] for [hai] (*went*) in St, show unstressed verb. The positive imperative is an unstressed prefix to an adverb in *cur dooin* (*give to us* [kAd'un]), *Voc. cur da* (*give to him* [kAɹd'öä]) or, with long vowels, bears equal stress and is joined, as in *as leih dooin* (*and forgive us* [asl'i:d'un]); see *ver orts* as [vAr'ɔts], p. 354.

The paradigms will illustrate the mutations, roots, and flexions. An irregular verb (all, I believe, are represented below) has several roots but no future endings; a regular verb has a single root and adds a syllable in the future. Examples followed by an asterisk were found in texts other than the Bible; Gaelic forms, and a few interesting examples from *PB*, will illustrate some of the etymology.

The parts of the Manx verb are: the GERUND, unmutated verbal noun, with *g-* prefixed to vowels; the INFINITIVE, mutated verbal noun after preposition, especially after *dy;* the IMPERATIVE, which

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[25] Note these further compounds from the Bible: *dty heshey-poost* (Ioh 4.18 = *thy husband*), *yn saagh-ushtey* (Ioh 4.28 = *the water-pot*), *yn villey-figgagh* (Ioh 1.48 = *the fig-tree*), *shey siyn-cloaie* (Ioh 2.6 = *six stone pots*), *ny hie margee* (Ioh 2.16 = *into its market-house*). It is clear that both Manx and Gaelic avoid compound nouns of the type *am pios arain* (*the piece of bread*), preferring to set the second noun after a preposition such as *dy* or *jeh* (partitive), *ryhoi* (*for, to be used for*, Ioh 2.6). It remains to be shown how recent this preference may be (*water vessel* appeared in 1625 as *krockanyn uisky*, with a genitive). In 1625 *dy* was used in complex noun groups such as *ny harnyn soje magh d'yn talu* (Ps 2.8 = *the outermost parts of the world*).

has the negative prefix *ny* (no mutation, *nagh* before vowel), and a plural in *-jee* (in use by 1625, e.g. *klastigi = clasht-jee, tredi = tar-jee, shervaesi = shirveish-jee*); the FUTURE INDEPENDENT, root plus pronoun, but with the ending *-ym* in the first person singular, and the special pronoun *mayd* in the first plural; regular verbs add *-ee* in main clauses, *-ys* in relative clauses, using the subject pronouns including *mee* and *mayd* (*chyndaa-ee ad = they will return; oddys mayd = that we can*) or, in the first singular, using the independent form in *-ym* instead of the relative; the FUTURE DEPENDENT, often with no ending, sometimes with a special root, but usually exactly like the independent except for initial nasal eclipse (*cha shooylee eh = he will not walk*, Ioh 8.12); the PAST INDEPENDENT with mutated initial and no personal endings other than standard pronouns; the PAST DEPENDENT with various special initial mutations, especially nasal eclipse, e.g. *d-* (palatal *j-*; from *do*), *v-* (nasalized *f-*); the CONDITIONAL, distinguished as dependent or independent by the initial mutations, with personal ending first singular in *-in*, all other persons in *-agh* plus subject pronouns; the PAST PARTICIPLE, presumably always in *-t*, but sometimes formed from the infinitive, alone or with the prefix *er-*.

PB uses a second person singular future in *-t* (*kluinyt us mi, biit us jiragh, fadait us*, see Ps 17–18), related to Gaelic *bithidh tu* (*thou will be*, with unmutated *t-*) as against *cha bhi thu*; I have found this *-t* in no other text. St gives [väm] once for *va mee*.

TYPICAL PARADIGMS

INDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT (interrogative)

(*be:* bee!) *gerund* dy ve (*bhi*)
   fut. beeym, bee uss (*bithidh*)
   pret. va mee, va uss (*bha*)
   cond. veign, veagh uss (*bhithinn*)
   pres. taym *or* ta mee, ta uss (*tha*)

infinitive dy ve
   beeym, bee uss (*bi*)
   row mee, row uss (*robh*)
   beign, beagh uss
   vel mee *or* nel mee, nel uss ('*neil* or *bheil*)

(*do:* jean!) *ger.* jannoo (*dèanamh*)
   fut. neeym, nee uss (*nì*)
   pret. ren (*rinn*)
   cond. yinnin, yinnagh uss (*dheanainn*)
   part. jeant

inf. dy yannoo
   jeanym, jean uss (*dean*)
   ren
   jinnin *or* jeanin, jinnagh uss

(*come:* tar!) *ger.* cheet (*teachd?*)
   fut. higym, hig uss (*thig*)
   pret. haink (*thàinig*)
   cond. harrin
   part. cheet

inf. dy heet
   jigym, jig uss (*d'thig* or *tig*)
   daink (*d'thàinig*)
   darrin*

(*go:* immee! gow!) (Ir. *imthigh; gabh*) goll
   fut. hedym *or* hem, hed uss (*théid*)
   pret. hie (*chaidh, PB* gha, ghe, ghai)
   cond. raghin*, ragh uss (*rachainn*)
   part. ersooyl

inf. dy gholl (*dol*)
   jedym, jed uss (*d'théid*)
   jagh (*deach*)
   raghin*, ragh uss

(*say:* abbyr!) (*abair*) *ger.* gra ('*g radh*)
   fut. yiarrym, yiarr uss (*iarr*)

   pret. dooyrt (*d'thubhairt*)
   cond. yiarrin, yiarr uss
   part. grait*

inf. dy ghra
   jirrym, jir uss (*d'iarr* or *deir?*), or cha niar, cha n'abbyr
   dooyrt
   jirrin

(*see:* fak!) (*faic*) *ger.* fakin
   fut. heeym, hee uss (*chì*)
   pret. honnick (*PB* ghonick, *chunnaic*)
   cond. heein, heeagh uss
   part. fakinit*

inf. dy akin
   vaikym (*PB* gha naik, *faic*)
   vaik (*PB* gha naik, *faca*)
   vaikin*, vaikagh uss*

(*hear:* clasht!) *ger.* clashtyn
   fut. cluinym, cluinee uss
   pret. cheayll (*PB* ghyyl, *chuala*) *or* chluin
   cond. cluinin, cluinagh uss*
   part. cluinit

inf. dy chlashtyn

   geayll *or* chluin

   chluinin*

(*get:* fow!) (*faigh*) *ger.* feddyn (*faotainn?*)
   fut. yioym*, yiow uss (*gheibh*)
   pret. hooar (*PB* heyr, *fhuair*)
   cond. yioin*, yiogh uss (*gheibhinn*)
   part. feddynit

inf. dy gheddyn
   voym*, vow uss (*faigh, PB* gha nou)
   dooar (*PB* deyr, *d'fhuair*)
   voin, voghe uss (*PB* nagh noagh, *faighinn*)

(*take:* gow!) (*gabh*) *ger.* goaill (*gabhail*)   *inf.* dy ghoaill
    fut.   goym *or* gowym*, gowee uss   goym, gow oo
          (*gabhaidh*)
    pret. ghow* (*ghabh*)   ghow*
    cond. ghowin, ghoghe uss *or* ghowagh   ghowin, ghoghe uss (*ghabhainn*)
          uss*
    part. go(w)in*, gowit*

(*give:* cur!) (*PB* toer! *cuir*) *ger.* coyrt   *inf.* dy choyrt (*PB* dy hoyrt, *tabhairt*)
    fut.   verrym, ver uss (*bheir*)   derrym*, der uss* (*toir*)
    pret. hug (*PB* ghurr, *thug* and *chuir*)   dug (*PB* rugg, *d'thug* and *rug*)
    cond. verrin, verragh uss*   derrin*
    part. currit*, coyrt*, toyrit*

(*bear:* ——)   *inf.* dy ruggey* *or* dy vrey*
    fut.   ver uss
    pret.   (*PB* rugg, *rug*)
    part. ruggit*, er-ny-gheddyn
    passive ruggyr

(*walk:* shooill!) (*siubhail*) *ger.* shooyll   *inf.* dy hooyll
    fut.   shooillee (*siubhlaidh*)   shooyl *or* shooillee
    pret. huill (*shiubhail*)   huill

(*dwell:* fuirree!) (*fuirich*) *ger.* fuirree   *inf.* dy uirree*
    fut.   fuirree
    pret. duirree   duirree

(*can, may:* ——)
    fut.   foddym, foddee uss (*faodaidh*)   noddym, nod uss *or* cha dod uss
                                              ('*n fhaod*)
    cond. oddin, oddagh uss (*fhaodainn*)   voddin, voddagh uss ('*n fhaodainn*)
    part. odagh

SYNTAX

VERB

The independent forms of the verb are used in main clauses and after independent conjunctions. They are also found in relative clauses, except that, for the future tense, forms in -*s* are more common. The dependent form as given above is a simple interrogative (*PB* at least once shows the interrogative prefix in *an vell u . . .* , modern *vell uss . . .*); it is also used after *cha* (neg.) and in dependent clauses, for the most part in *dy*. The verb normally stands in first place in a clause; it is preceded only by a few particles, adverbs, and by all conjunctions. It is followed immediately by its subject noun or pronoun (omitted in a relative clause whenever possible); the noun object follows, but the pronoun object is usually placed after adverbial parts of the predicate.[26]

The subject pronoun is joined or disjoined and unstressed after a stressed verb (*hie shin = we went* [h'ai sIn]; *t'ou = thou art* [t'a·u·]); it is joined or disjoined and stressed after an unstressed verb (*myr ta shin = as we are* [mör tA s'In]). The disjoined subject pronoun is often separated from its verb by such pause that it seems to belong with the following word group.

The tenses required are of two classes, simple (as in the paradigms) and compound. The simple tenses show aspect, imperfective (future, habitual present) or perfective (preterite); the conditional is a past future by tense attraction, hence imperfective. There are a number of substitutions of the past tense, in 1819, for the conditional, as used in 1625.

The compound tenses are progressive, perfect, or impersonal. The perfect has for the most part replaced the preterite in independent clauses, although a few verbs still retain an active preterite.[27] The compound impersonal tenses are very much used. This tense system has been superimposed on the aspect system, tending to crowd out the latter; in main clauses, even verbs of perception (*see, think, understand*) appear by preference in compound tenses (ex. 11–14; this is also true, although to a less degree, in Gaelic). The simple impersonal (passive) forms have completely disappeared, except *ruggyr* (*is, was born*), which is also unique in modern Scottish Gaelic.[28]

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[26] In St the verb is surely an unstressed prefix to its adverb, e.g. [sAi si:s] (*sitting down*), [hAin si:s] (*I would sit down*).

[27] The fact that St uses a number of simple preterites instead of the perfects normally found in the Bible merely indicates expected divergence; the rule remains valid with respect to the Bible.

[28] Gaelic *rugadh mi* (*I was born*), see *IS* p. 176.

The verb *ta* has the three tenses of other verbs and also a present tense of actual existence *ta* ([ta·] or [tɛ], unstressed [tA]). *Ta* and the future *bee* may add the personal ending *-ym;* the dependent form *vel* [vel] is recommended by Gd (p. 16) as the literary form, and is used in the 1625 Psalms; *cha nel*, used throughout the rest of *PB*, might better be called a dialectal variant (see note 12 above).[29] A habitual present *dy voym's* (i:e. *gu bhiom-sa*) in other texts is a literary imitation of Irish.[30]

Ta, va, and *dy ve* usually apostrophize before pronouns in vowel (*v'e, t'oo*), *row* less often (*r'oo* or *row oo*, but always *row uss*); however, Qu always reads *t'oò* as [t'a·u·] or [tau], but *t'ee* as [ti:]. The definite article apostrophizes after *ta, va,* and *ve* (*va'n* [v'ɛn]), but before a preposition beginning with a vowel the verb is reduced (*t'ayns = that is in* [t'Ans], *t'aym's = that I have* [t'Amz]). Following rules for verb stress, [tA] is disjoined (*myr ta shin leih = as we are forgiving* [mör tA s'In lai]); compare St [as tA mi fäJIt] (*and I am left*) and [aX i tA pu:s] (*but she who is married*), with [tɛ:] when stressed.

Ta and its forms are used as follows: 1 (ex. 1, 19 seq., 61 seq.), with all predicate adjectives and adverbs of temporary condition and location (*I am good, well, here*), including all gerunds showing rest and inaction, which require the possessive article (*I am in my sitting*, but see ex. 1); 2 (ex. 3, 5, 35, 48), to state the existence and location of an indefinite noun (*there is a book here*), or with any noun to give what corresponds to certain English verbs (*with me = I have*); the prepositions here required are *ec* (for possession), *son* (*intended for*, see Ioh 7.44), and, with verbal noun, *dy* (*planning to*) and *ry* (*about to*); 3 (ex. 2, 20), similarly with abstract nouns forming the equivalents of certain English verbs of volition and perception (*know, fear*); 4 (ex. 4, 88), impersonally, for expressions of time and weather; 5 (ex. 6, rare), replacing a verb of motion.

1. (Ioh 1.35) Va Ean ny hassoo [vadz'un nAh'äsu] *or* [va'iɛn . . .] (*GB*: Sheas Eoin — John was sitting). Gd (p. 50) allows progressive tenses, i.e. *Va Ean shassoo;* Ioh 2.6 uses a past participle: *As va soit* (*PB As va na shassú*, sh- unmutated).

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[29] Considerable difference in choice of word suggests that the 1625 Psalms were translated by a different person from the remainder of *PB*; the case of *cha nel* as against *cha vel* suggests that those persons used different dialects.

[30] For example in *The Manx Note Book*, ed. A. W. Moore, Vol. 1, Douglas, 1885, p. 142. Any such tense as *bhiom* is non-Gaelic as well: there is no reason to believe that a present tense ever existed in Gaelic or Manx, except for the verb *ta*.

2. (Ioh 1.31) As cha row enney aym's er [ashar‛αw ɛni‛Amz öɹ] (*GB:* Agus cha raibh aithne agamsa air — And I knew him not).

3. (Ioh 7.16) Cha vel my ynsagh lhiam pene [hav‛ɛl mE‛ɛnzAX lh‛iAm pe·n] (*GB:* Cha leam fein mo theagasg — My doctrine is not mine). On *is leam* see *IS* ex. 42.

4. (Ioh 1.39) Son ve mysh y jeihoo oor (Since it was about the tenth hour = a' deicheamh uair).

5. (Ioh 5.1) Va feailley [vɛ· f‛iLjA] (*GB:* Bha féisd ann — There was a feast). Omission of the adverb *ayn* (*there, in it*, see ex. 36).

6. (Ioh 6.16) tra va'n fastyr er (*GB:* 'n uair a thàinig am feasgar — when it was evening). Also Ioh 4.45.

<div align="center">COMPOUND TENSES</div>

Ta is the principal auxiliary used to form compound tenses. *Ta* plus gerund gives progressive tenses (ex. 102, 106: *I am doing, I was doing*, the others rare); the direct object noun or pronoun follows the gerund (Gd p. 18); the noun, formerly a genitive, is now an accusative, and the pronoun, formerly a possessive article placed before the gerund, is now normally an accusative (but see ex. 12). *Ta* plus *er* plus mutated gerund (*n-* before vowel, regularly nasalized in *PB*, see ex. 128) is used for perfect action (*I have done, I did*); the direct noun object may either follow the gerund, or precede it as the object of the preposition *er;* the pronoun is normally a possessive article (ex. 8), but if it is modified by a predicate adjective the accusative pronoun is used (p. 320). This compound, rare in colloquial Gaelic, has largely replaced in Manx the simple past tense in independent clauses;[31] it has even led to the formation of special auxiliaries *tadyr* (i.e. *t'ad er = they have*), past tense *vadyr* (see *Dict.*). In 1625 an adverb could be placed between *ta* and the gerund (*PB: ta shuin gy hishill toyrt buias duitch gy . . .*).

Ta (unlike *vel*) is not stressed (compare joined [ta], disjoined [tɛ], and unstressed [tA]) before and in contact with its noun or pronoun subject (*t'ou goll = thou art going* [tau g‛ɔL]; *ta mi nish goaill = I am now getting* [tα mi nIs g‛o:Lj]); in a second (relative) clause (subject not expressed) it is an unstressed prefix to the stressed gerund (*ta jannoo = who is doing* [tɛ·dz‛anu]; *ta goaill = who is getting* [tɛg‛o·Lj]).

7. (Ioh 5.29) As adsyn t'er n'yannoo dy olk [as ‛adsIn tö·nAdz-

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[31] The simple past tense is commoner in 1625 than in 1819; St also prefers the preterite to the perfect, indicating that the 1819 Bible was (and still would be) exceedingly modern in its style, although in no respect under English influence. The use of *er* with verbal noun to form an adjective can be clearly seen by 1515 in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (see note 23), e.g. *air a ghearradh* (verse 2047, also v. 2134).

'änu d'ɛɔlk] (*GB:* Agus iadsan a rinn olc — And they that have done evil). Also Ioh 9.18, 9.27.

8. (Ioh 8.29) Cha vel yn Ayr er my aagail my lomarcan [ha· v'ɛl An'ɛ·r öɹmA'ɛgAl mAl'ɑmArkAn] (*GB:* Cha d'fhàg an t-Athair a'm'aonar mi — The Father has not left me all alone). Also ex. 37, 49, 89, and see pp. 320–321.

9. (I Cor 6.18) Ta dy chooilley pheccah ta dooinney dy yannoo cheu-mooie jeh'n chorp [tɛ· dAk'uLjA p'ɛkE tEd'üNjA dAdz'änu ts'u·mui dze·nk'ɔ·p] (= *PB* — *GB:* Ta gach aon pheacadh a ni duin' ann leith muigh de'n chorp — Every sin that a man does is without the body). *Dy* apparently for '*ga* = *at his.*

10. (Mt 11.2) Tra va Ean er chlashtyn jeh obbraghyn Chreest, hug e [tre ve 'ien ökl'ästsAn dze 'ɔbrIXAn kr'ist h'Ag i] (*PB:* Nar ghyyl Eyn d'obraghyn Ghriist, ghur e — When John had heard the works of Christ, he sent).

11. (Ioh 1.18) Cha vel unnane erbee er vakin Jee ec traa erbee [ha·v'ɛl An'enö·b'i ö·v'ekIn dzi ɛktr'ɛö·bi] (*GB:* Cha 'n fhaca neach air bith Dia riamh — No man has seen God ever).

The compound progressive tense has idiomatic force, as in Gaelic, which cannot be foreseen from English. The gerund is also used after *see* and *hear*, both progressive (ex. 14) and perfect (Mt 2.4 = *PB*).

12. (Ioh 9.15) Ta mee fakin [t'ɛ· mi f'ekIn] (*GB:* Ata mi a' faicsin — I can see, i.e., now, again). Also Ioh 9.38, I Cor 1.26 (*GB:* Chí sibh).

13. (Ioh 8.45) Cha vel shiu dy my chredjal [h'a· vel su· dEmA-kr'edzAl] (*GB:* Cha 'n eil sibh 'gam chreidsin — You do not believe me). By rule (Gd p. 18) this would be *Cha vel shiu credjal mee.*

14. (Ioh 1.37) As cheayll yn daa . . . eh loayrt [ask'iLj Ind'ɛ ɛLj'ü·t] (*GB:* Agus chual' an dias . . . e a' labhairt — And the two heard him speak). Also Ioh 1.29.

"TA" IN IMPERSONAL COMPOUND TENSES

The verb *ta* forms a compound tense, with *er*, plus possessive article *my, dty, ny* (mutating), plural *nyn* (nasalizing), plus gerund (verbal noun), the whole having reflexive force, and another compound with the past participle in *-t.* The first of these usually corresponds to the identical construction in *GB*, the second to the inflected impersonal verb.

In spoken Gaelic these compounds and the impersonal inflections either have disappeared or were never regularly used (see *IS* note 20). Neither was a real passive, nor are similar constructions real passives in other Celtic languages; both are replaced in

spoken Gaelic either by inversion to active form or by the use of *iad* (*they, someone*).

The past participle in Gaelic is an adjective with special meaning; it may be used as a real and unmodified adjective in some cases (*dùinte, fosgailte, briste*), or may require modifiers (*ceangailte rì*). In this respect, Manx agrees with Munster Irish, where the system of compound tenses is as free as is that of modern French (Jon. pp. 151, 155). In Irish this compound tense represents an intermediate point of view, that is, an action viewed for its developing nature. In Manx the same tense just as often indicates that the result is more interesting than the action itself, that is, if *it was given to me*, then *I have it*. In contrast, *er* plus verbal noun has some reflexive force, that is, *Paul let himself be crucified*, not merely *Paul was crucified*. The doer of the action is practically never expressed; when found, it is connected by the preposition *lesh* (*PB rish*) for instrument, *veih* (Ioh 3.27, 6.45) for agent.

15. (Ioh 9.1) Honnick eh dooinney v'er ny ruggey doal (*GB:* Chunnaic e duine a bha dall o rugadh e — He saw a man that had been born blind). Also Ioh 1.13, 3.3, 9.18.

16. (I Cor 1.13) Vel Creest er ny rheynn? (*GB:* Am bheil Criosd air a roinn? — Is Christ divided?). Also ex. 41, 110, I Cor 1.23, 3.13.

17. (I Cor 1.13) Row Paul er ny chrossey? (*GB:* An do cheusadh Pòl? — Was Paul crucified?). Also Ioh 6.36.

18. (Rom 15.4) v'er nyn scrieu 'sy traa t'er n'gholl shaghey [vö·-nAskr'u sAtr'ɛ tɛnAg'oL s'e·gA] (*PB:* ta skriut róish nish — *GB:* a sgriobhadh roimhe so — that were written aforetime). Also Ioh 1.8, I Cor 1.2.

The compound tenses formed of *ta* plus past participle seem to have about the same meaning as the preceding; the two constructions have been stylistic alternates since at least 1625 (ex. 22, 126). *Ta* with past participle can best be compared to *he is gone* (the French nonpassive with *être*): the action is complete, the result is a fact devoid of action. *GB* uses the impersonal verb endings, agreeing with Manx in distinguishing to a certain degree between completed action and the resulting state (see ex. 112, 126). The past participle may also be used emphatically and rhetorically in inverted position (ex. 23).

19. (Ioh 3.24) Son cha row Ean foast tilgit [san har'aw 'iɛn f'o·st tθ'IlgIt] (*GB:* Oir cha raibh Eoin fòs air a thilgeadh — For John had not yet been thrown). Also Ioh 1.3, 1.28, 6.12, 6.45.

20. (Ioh 6.6) V'eh hene kiarit cre dy yannoo [ve· hi'n· k'iE·t kri·ŏAdz'änu] (*PB:* Va fyss agge heyn kre ienagh e — He himself knew [was determined] what to do). Also I Cor 2.2, 3.15, 4.9.

21. (Ioh 9.11) dooinney va enmyssit Yeesey (*GB:* duine d'an ainm Iosa—a man named Jesus).

22. (Mt 23.38) Ta'n thie eu faagit diu follym-faase [tentθ'aiu f'εgItdu f'ɔLjAmf'e·s] (*PB:* Ta nan dyei erna 'agael difs fallym-fáys — *GB:* Fàgar bhur tigh aguibh 'n a fhàsach — Your house is left to you desolate).

23. (Mt 21.9) Bannit t'eshyn ta cheet [b'änIt tɛ'εsIn tɛts'it] (*PB:* Baniit ta eshin ta chiit — *GB:* Beannuicht' an Ti a thig — Blessed is He that comes).

Several other verbs are used as simple auxiliaries in compound tenses comparable to Spanish *está* (*sigue, va*) *haciendo*. The commonest is *jannoo* (*do*, as in Welsh, see Gd p. 30), less often *goll* (*go on*), *fakin* (*see*), etc. *Jannoo* appears most often with future meaning, or to show volition (*nagh dean clashtyn* = *who refuses to listen*), or to throw emphasis on the verbal noun, as in Welsh. It is an unstressed prefix to its noun subject, the verbal noun being joined if monosyllabic and stressed if polysyllabic (*nee imbee cheet* = *the season will come* [ni'ImbitsIt]; *nce'n roayrt lhieeney* = *the tide will ebb* [ninr'ɔrt lin'e]; but *nagh dean clashtyn* [naXdz'in kl'ästAn]); see ex. 47. Gd (p. 56) gives as standard *hie mee er coayl* (*I was lost*); compare *hie shin er walkal* (*we went walking* [h'ai sIn Aw'ɔLkAl]), *PB ghonick shuin shuin heyn syit magiyrt* (*we saw ourselves seated near by*, modernized by using *ta*), *hie er deayrtey* (ex. 28).

Use of *jannoo* was already strong in 1625, apparently as a free alternate with a simple verb form (*PB Gha dean u pusey y vrishie*, mod. *Cha brish oo poosey* = *thou shalt not break marriage*). The direct object possessive article used in *PB* has since been for the most part augmented or replaced by accusative pronouns (*PB managh jean duyney y ghrediu* = *unless a man believes him*, mod. *mannagh jean dooinney eh y chredjal*). *Jannoo* may also be used in answering questions, replacing a main verb (ex. 27, very rare). The Book of the Dean of Lismore (*ca.* 1515, see note 23) shows this use of the verb *to do* in *rinneamar ruith* (*we did running*, verse 2413).

24. (Ps 23.2) Nee eh faassaghey mee ayns pastyr glass [ni ε f'e·sAgi mi Anzp'ästA· gl'äs] (*PB:* Ni é mi véaghey ....— He makes me lie in green pastures).

25. (Ps 2.9) Nee uss ad y vroo lesh lorg reill dy yiarn [n'iAs 'ädivr'u les l'ɔ:g r'iLj dAj'ï·An] (*PB:* Ni us aydsyn y vru rish slatt iarn — Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron). Also Rom 15.9 (*niims us y volley masky ny hangristin*), Ioh 8.21.

26. (Ps 3.5) Ren y Chiarn my niartaghey [rɛnitsj'a·n mi n'iate:gi] (*PB:* Ghum y Chiarn shuas mi — The Lord sustained me). Also ex. 35, 46, Ioh 1.5, 1.14, 3.12, 5.25, I Cor 1.15.

27. (Mt 23.37) As cha jinnagh shiu! (*PB:* As gha ballêafs! — *GB:* Agus cha b'àill leibh! — And you wouldn't?).

28. (Mt 23.35) yn uill hie er deayrtey er y thalloo [IN̦j'üL h'ai ö·d'iati 'örit'alu] (*PB:* yn 'uill va erna yiârty er y tallu — *GB:* fhuil dhòirteadh air . . . — the blood that came spilled on the earth).

The verb *ta* is regularly used in predication of temporary status (*he is a doctor*); as in Gaelic, though far oftener, this is extended to predication of real identity, relieving the copula *is* as a free alternate (see note before ex. 70, and *IS* ex. 23–25). The formula is: *ta* plus subject plus article *in my*, etc., plus the noun stating the category; the possessive article may be omitted, leaving a construction in which *ta* simply replaces the copula (ex. 71, 72).

29. (Ioh 4.24) Ta Jee ny Spyrryd (*GB:* Is Spiorad Dia — God is a spirit). Also Ioh 3.1, 8.39, and ex. 34.

30. (Ioh 3.10) Vel uss dty er-ynsee? [v'ɛlAs ðA'öɹAnsi] (*PB:* Vell us dy veistyr? — *GB:* Am bheil thus' a'd'fhear-teagaisg? — Are you a teacher?). Also Ioh 4.9.

ADVERBS AND INDEPENDENT CONJUNCTIONS

Common adverbs follow the words they modify; as predicates they are hardly distinguishable from adjectives (see above, p. 323). The general omission of the copula *is*, as in Welsh, leaves a large number of adverbs in initial position before the verb; these cannot be distinguished from those adverbs which have always been placed initially in Irish, nor from conjunctions, which often are really nouns. One finds, then, in initial position, *shen-y-fa* (*for this reason,* Ioh 1.31 = *PB,* but *er-y-fa shen* when used after the verb), *eisht* (*then*), *agh* (*yet, but,* also *foost* in *PB*), *as* (*and*), etc. No full rules have yet been set forth for Irish; Gaelic allows none of these (except *ach* and *agus*) or any other adverbs before the verb (*GB* follows Irish usage).

From Qu it is evident that the true independent conjunctions (*as, tra*) are independent unstressed words followed by a stressed verb (see p. 326), while the dependent conjunctions (with relative clauses) are unstressed but followed by unstressed verb (*myr te ayns niau* — *as it is in heaven* [mör tAnsN̦j'aw]); the adverbial conjunctions, and indeed all inverted words, are stressed, and are followed by unstressed verb (see p. 326).

The commonest true conjunctions, from a nonphonetic point of view, are *as* (*and*), *agh* (*but*), *myr* (*while, like, as if*), *son* (*on account of the fact that*), *traa* (*when,* also *nar* in *PB*), *derrey* (*until*), *choud as* (*while*). *Dy* (Irish *go* = *until, and*) and *as* (*agus,* showing circumstance, cause or result) are not freely used.

31. (Ioh 1.31) Shen-y-fa haink mish bashtey (= *PB* — *GB:* Uime sin thàinig mi a' baisteadh — Hence I came baptizing).

DEPENDENT CLAUSES

The dependent clause is introduced by unstressed *dy* ([dA] *PB gy*) or *my* (*before*) or one of their numerous compounds; the verb is in its dependent form, and all negatives are formed using *nagh*. Gd (p. 57) says that *dy* nasalizes its future tense verb (*dy gum eh*, *PB dy gumm e = that he remain*). Common compounds include *er-be dy* (*but that, except that, if not*, e.g. Ioh 9.33), *er-dy* (*ever since*, Ioh 9.32, as a preposition Ioh 6.64, middle Irish *er co?*), *son dy* ([sɔn dA'] Ioh 5.46) or *er-yn-oyr dy* (*in order that* with past or conditional tenses), *er aggle dy* (*for fear that, lest*), *ga dy* (*although, PB gy* or *ga* plus relative verb form, Sk *cea row = though he was*, with dependent verb, Gaelic *ged a*), negative *ga nagh* (*GB ge nach*), *roish my* (*before, PB my*), etc.

The dependent clause may be the object of such verbs as *say, see, know, think*, and of such impersonals as *it is important, it matters little* (I Cor 4.3; but these may also take indirect questions or if-clauses, see *IS* ex. 9–13). The dependent clause may be in apposition with *shoh* (i.e. *this, to wit*); after *as* (*and*) it may repeat the force of an independent clause (ex. 39). The dependent clause is an alternate of the dependent infinitive, as in other languages. *Dy* also means *if* (*dy n-* by 1522), but *my* is usually found with the future.

32. (I Cor 7.8) *my nee ad cummal* (*GB:* ma dh'fhanas iad—if they abide). Also Ioh 3.12, 6.51, 6.62, 7.4, 7.17.

33. (Ioh 5.45) Ny smooinee-jee dy jean-yms (*GB:* Na saoilibh gu'n dean mise — Do not think that I will do).

34. (Rom 15.8) gra dy row Yeesey ny hirveishagh jeh (*PB:* grá gy rou . . . — saying that Jesus was a minister to). Also ex. 119.

35. (Ps 14.3) dy akin row veg jeu yinnagh toiggal (*PB:* dy akin ma veagh anayn erbi bailliesh tuigel — to see if there were any of them that understood).

36. (Ioh 8.58) Roish my row Abraham, ta mish (*PB:* Ma rugg A., ta mish — *GB:* Mun raibh A. ann, ataim-se — Before A. was, I am). Also Mt 1.18 (*PB: ma daink ayd*), Ioh 4.49.

37. (Ioh 8.55) As dy n'yiarrin nagh nione dou eh, veign my vreagerey goll riuish (*PB:* As my jirrym nagh nial dou e, biim ny vragery kasly riiufs — *GB:* Nach aithne dhamh e, bhithinn . . . — And if I said that he isn't known to me, I'd be a liar like you).

38. (Ioh 8.45) As ga dy vel mee ginsh diu yn irriney (*GB:* Agus do bhri' gu bheil mise 'g innseadh na fìrinn — And because I tell you the truth). Also I Cor 4.15, Ps 23.4 (*ga dy vel = PB ga ta*).

39. (Mt 21.1) Tra v'ad tayrn, as dy row ad er jeet, hug (*PB:* Narr harn áyd, as v'ayd er jit, aeish ghurr — *GB:* An uair . . . , agus a thàinig . . . — When they drew nigh, and were come, they sent).

40. (Ps 4.3) Toig-jee shoh neesht, dy vel y Chiarn (*PB:* Bi fyss aggu er shó niist, gy vell y Chiarn — But know ye this now, that the Lord is).

In clauses of purpose or result, *dy* introduces the explanatory statement after a pause. In I Cor 2.16 this corresponds to *agus* with circumstantial value; ex. 101, showing purpose, was modernized by use of the infinitive (see also ex. 112). In Mt 2.15 *myr* (*as*) replaced *PB dy* (*in order that*).

41. (Ioh 9.2) Quoi ren peccah, dy row eh er ny ruggey doal? (*GB:* Co a pheacaidh gu'n d'rugadh dall é? — Who sinned, so that he was born blind?). Also I Cor 2.16.

Dy also appears in exhortation of impersonal force corresponding to those in Gaelic *gu*, but, as in Gaelic, limited to a few fixed formulas, especially greetings: *Slaynt dy row lhiat!* ([sl'änt Ar'aw li'ät] *Health be with thee!*), *Shee-dy-row hiu!* ([si· dAr'aw hju] *Peace be with you!*), *Myr shen dy row eh!* ([mös'en dAr'aw e·] *So be it!*). One also finds *Gur mie eh!* ([gUra m'ai ä] or [gArA m'aijɛ] *Thank you!*) and the alternate Gy-row mie-ort! ([gArA m'ai ö·t]); St [dArɛ:] corresponds to Gaelic *gur è* (see ex. 75).

I have not found these in the Bible, where *dy*, however, is used in exhortations as well as after indefinites, thus serving as an indicator of subjunctive value (see ex. 44); so also St [ðA dziNaX] (*may it make*).

42. (Mt 6.10) Dy jig dty reeriaght [t0A dz'Ig ðAðAr'irAX] (*GB:* Tigeadh do r. — Thy kingdom come). [ðAðA] probably for [ðArA], see p. 315.

43. (Mt 6.9) (Dy) casherick dy row dty ennym [tAk'asArIk dAr'aw ðA'ɛnEm] (*GB:* Gu naomhaichear t'ainm — Blessed be thy name).

44. (Ioh 5.4) jeh doghan erbee dy row er (*GB:* [a dh'aon] tinneas d'am biodh air — of whatsoever disease he had).

RELATIVE CLAUSES

Lacking the particle [A], the relative clause in Manx is, for the eye, essentially an independent clause, except in the future tense. Simple tenses are far commoner in relative clauses than in main clauses. With intransitive verbs the subject is always omitted, with transitive verbs either the subject or direct object is omitted, context alone showing the case of the remaining substantive.

The relative pronoun *ny* (*that which, all that, all those who*) is given as standard by Gd (p. 56) and Kn (p. 132), although they admit that "*ny* is usually omitted"; except after such substantives as *all*, *this*, etc., *ny* is purely hypothetical; *ny* is read by Qu as *yn*:

Ooilley ny t'ee dooinney (*All that a man is* [uLjA Int'i d'U*N*A]);
Dict. acknowledges neither *ny* nor *yn; ny* is rare (Ioh 10.8 *ny haink*,
Ioh 19.22 *ny ta*). *Shen* may be used to give the meaning of English
what (Ioh 3.11).

The relative clause may be given stronger connection by the use
of certain substantives in apposition with stated antecedents, for
example *the one who, all those that, a place in which*; these include
such nouns as have become conjunctions (*tra* = *when, raad* =
where, see Ioh 6.60). The negative relative clause in *nagh* requires
the dependent verb form.

45. (Mt 6.9) Ayr ain t'ayns niau ['ɛr ain t'an s*N*j'aw] (*GB:* Ar
n-athair ata air neamh — Our Father who art in heaven).

46. (Ioh 1.28) ayns Bethabara, raad va Ean bashtey (*PB:* ag B.,
yn yinyd ren Ean bastchey — in B., where John was baptizing).
Also Ioh 6.21, 6.61 (*to which*), Mt 2.9 (*yn ynnyd raad va* = *PB yn
iynyd ayns va*).

47. (Ioh 1.12) Agh whilleen as ren soaighey jeh [aXhw'Ilin asr'ɛn
s'o·gidze·] (*GB:* Ach a' mheud 's a ghabh ris — But those who [as
many as] received him).

The relative clause object of a preposition (*in which, of what*, etc.)
may in principle be treated thus: 1, by placing a preposition before
a dependent verb (Gaelic *air an do chuir mi e* = *on which I put it*);
2, by placing a prepositional pronoun after a simple relative clause
(Gaelic *a chuir mi e air* = *that I put it on it*), rarer than 1 in Gaelic;
and 3, by using *go*, throwing all elements of dependency onto ad-
verbs like *air* above (strong in Irish, unknown to Manx and Gaelic).

Manx uses 2 above (e.g. Ioh 4.32), but also 1 with this change,
that the preposition is replaced by an adverb (prepositional pro-
noun, third person singular masculine) set before the relative
clause. This solution is found in the Gaelic interrogatives (*Int.* p.
221): one may use *Co e bho'n d'fhuair thu e?* (*Who is he from whom
you got it?*) or *Co bhuaithe a fhuair thu e?* (*Who from him that you got
it?*) In Manx, *ayn ta*, meaning *in which is, in it is*, replaces *PB ayns
ta* (*in which is*); this in turn apparently replaces *ayns vel**, the
Gaelic form with dependent verb, since in 1522 one finds *ec row*
(modern *ec va* or *va ec*). *PB rish ghonnick shuin* (*with which we saw*),
lhieu va shin (*with whom we were*), *ie ta* (*from whom is*), though still
used in 1819, have usually yielded to various more explicit adverbs
such as *my-e-chione* (*concerning which*, used in Ps 2.7 to mean *from
whom*); *my-chione* (compound preposition) is also used as a simple
relative adverb (Ioh 1.30); in Mt 2.7 it modernizes *PB kre yn tra*
in an indirect question. *Ny* is used the same way (*jeh ny ta* = *abou*
that which is Ioh 3.11).

48. (Ioh 4.46) As va chiarn dy row, va'n mac echey ching (*GB:* Agus bha duine cumhachdach àraidh aig an raibh a mhac gu tinn — And there was a certain nobleman whose [= his] son was sick).

49. (Ioh 6.22) jeh'n un vaatey shen va ny ostyllyn er n'ghoaill [dẓeːnAnvʻɛti ʂen venAʻɔstALAn öɹnAgʻoːL] (*GB:* ach an lòng sin anns an deachaidh a dheisciobuil a steach — except that one boat into which his disciples had entered).

50. (Mt 11.10) Shoh e my-e-chione te scriut [so i mʻaikjʻon tIskrʻuˑt] (*PB:* Sho aeshyn ie té skriut — *GB:* so an ti mu'm bheil e scriobht' — This is he of whom it is written). Also Ioh 1.30 (*mychione* for *my-e-chione*).

51. (Ioh 1.15) Shoh eh jeh ren mish loayrt (*GB:* 'S è so an ti mu'n do labhair mi — This was he of whom I said). Also Ioh 1.30 (*mychione* for *jeh*).

52. (Ioh 1.26) Ta fer shassoo nyn mast' eu nagh vel enney eu er [tɛfösʻäsu nInmʻäst naXvelʻɛni uʻöɹ] (*PB:* Ta anayn shassú nan masky shius nagh niôl diuss — There stands one among you whom you do not know). Note *shius* (accusative for possessive).

The Copula "is*"

As a written entity, *is** and its forms are prefixes of the nature of expletives. From a phonetic point of view, the simple forms of *is** are prefixed sounds representing initial inflections (Jon. p. 111 so considers them for Irish; and see *IS,* p. 169). In Manx they are treated as integral parts of words. From a historical point of view the uses of *is** are: 1, expletives governing genderless adjectives; 2, pointers before abstract nouns or impersonal adjectives; 3, connectives in comparisons; 4, connectives in predication; and 5, expletives allowing emphatic inversion.

"Is" Plus Abstract Noun or Adjective Plus Preposition

Corresponding to English verbs of volition, obligation, and liking are a number of impersonal constructions formed of *is** plus noun or adjective plus prepositional pronouns (attributive datives). If the phonetics are suitable, the adverb becomes a verbal ending in seven parts, and the remains of *is* become initial consonants on the new verb. Initial *s-* or *sh-* may correspond to more polite forms in *b-* (Gaelic *bu,* conditional tense); interrogatives and negatives may show *n-* (Gaelic *an, cha 'n*) or *b-* (compare Gaelic *am bu, cha bu*), but *s-* is also found (impossible in Gaelic). The choice between the modifying prepositions *da* and *lesh* is purely lexical (see *IS* ex. 1–8). The root may not exist without these prefixes. Thus *Dict.* calls *baill* a verb root, which is conjugated as *baillym* (*b'àill leam*),

bailt, baillish, pl. *baillhien, baillieu* (ex. 27), *baillad,* meaning *I would like,* etc.; this is more polite, being a conditional, than is the present tense *saillym.* Other personal endings are found, *bailloo* (*b'àill leo*), *baillee* (*b'àill leatha*); *baillad* contains a nominative personal pronoun ending; the interrogative *nailt,* formed with *is* (interrogative *an*), may merely happen not to exist with *b-;* Gd (p. 67) gives *mannagh bailt* (*if you won't*).

Other similar verbs are less used and cannot be given in full paradigms (some from Gd, p. 71, others from *Dict.* or Bible): *cha lhiass dooin* (*we don't need to*), *shione dou* (*it is known to me,* dependent or attenuated as *bione dou,* negative *cha nhione,* ex. 37, *IS* ex. 6), *shegin dou* (*I must, have to,* neg. *cha nhegin,* attenuated *beign dou,* dependent *dy beign* for *PB gy n'egyn*), *shickyr dou* (*I know*), *sheeu-ym* (*I am worth,* with real verb ending, neg. *cha neeu eh* or *cha beeu eh,* with pronoun subjects, conditional *sheeuin, sheeagh oo,* from *feeu,* modified *s'beg sheeu,* also used as a predicate adjective, e.g. *cha vel mish feeu*), *share-lhiam* (*I prefer,* for *is fheàrr leam,* Sk *myr share dy voddyms* = *as best I can,* but *fare** does not exist), *cha surragh oo* (*you wouldn't permit,* see *IS* ex. 5), *s'taittymlhiam* (*I like, approve;* polite form *by-haittym lhiam*), *striuys* (*I think,* past tense *strou*), *s'mie-lhiam* (*I approve*), *shynney lhiam* (*I love,* neg. *cha bynney*). *PB* contains others which have apparently disappeared since 1625 (*gha niol duys* = *I don't know*). Use of *fys* (*knowledge*) leads to similar phonetic reduction: *cha s'ain* (Ioh 8.14, 9.21, Gaelic *cha fhios againn*) is an alternate of *cha vel fys ain* (Gaelic *cha 'n eil fhios againn*).

It is more difficult to classify a number of adjectives which do not call for prepositional pronoun complements: they are either verbs or comparatives, they are emphatic or they are merely rhetorical: *s'beg* (*small is*), *s'mie* (*good is*), *s'jesh* (or *s'cooie* or *s'cair,* see *IS* ex. 3 = *it befits, behoves*), *slhiam* (*I like, think*), *sleish* (*it belongs to him*). Hence St [sgeNal] for *s'gennal* (*blithely*).

As auxiliary verbs the constructions that require prepositional complements may govern indirect questions or dependent infinitives; a subordinate clause, expected when there is a change of subject between the two verbs, is not found after certain of these auxiliaries.

53. (Ioh 3.8) raad saillee (*PB:* yn ynyd saillesh — *GB:* far an àill leatha — where it wants to). Also Ioh 3.8, 5.21, 6.11, I Cor 4.21.

54. (Ioh 5.6) Nailt ve er dty laanaghey? (*GB:* Am miann leat bhi air do dheanamh slàn? — Wilt thou be made whole?).

55. (I Cor 7.7) Baillym dy beagh dy chooilley ghooinney eer myr ta mee hene (*GB:* Bu mhiann leam gu'm biodh ... — I would that

all men were like me). *PB* uses *saillish ve* for modern *saillish dy ve*.

56. (I Cor 6.7) Nagh baare diu surranse molt eyraght? (*GB:* C'arson nach fearr libh calldach a ghabhail? — Why don't you rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?).

57. (Ioh 9.4) Shegin dooys gobbraghey [s'e·gn· dOAsg'ɔbrAXi] (*GB:* Is eigin damh-sa oibridh — I must work). Also Ioh 3.7, 4.4. *Dict.* suggests *sheign* as better representing the pronunciation.

58. (Ps 1.7) Son shione da'n Chiarn raad y sleih cairal (*PB:* Agh saun d'yn Chiarn rayd yn klyei ynrick—For the Lord knows the road of the righteous). *Cha nione* Ioh 8.55; *nagh nione* ex. 37.

59. (Ioh 6.69) as shickyr jeh dy nee (*GB:* agus ata fhios againn gur tu — and we know that thou).

"IS" IN COMPARISONS

Comparisons are equative (*cha bouyr as eshyn* = *as deaf as he* [hab'ur as'esAn]), comparative (*obbraghyn smoo na ad shoh* = *works greater than these*),[32] or superlative (*mee s'jerree yn arree* = *the last month of spring*). The comparative as a simple adjective has initial *s-*; the prefix *ny* (*more*) is used after *ta* with predicate adjective, not elsewhere (hence *briwnys sloo* = *smaller judgment*). The superlative is a comparative with definite article (*yn briwnys sloo*); the negatives are equatives (*cha . . ., cha . . .* = *not so . . .*). Gd (p. 59) states that the comparative is inflected with the plural ending *-ey* or *-ee* if monosyllabic (such forms are lexical and should be given separately in a dictionary); I have not found the past tense, e.g. *by-verchee* (*which was richest*) in the Bible (see *IS* ex. 14–16).

Omission of *ny*, and constant use of single word forms introduced by *cha-* (*as*), really results in new word forms. *S'beg* is historically an emphatic or a comparative adjective, although it might just as well be called an impersonal verb; the same could be said of *s'mie* (*good is*), *s'beggan* (*little is*), *share* (*better is*), etc. Such constructions govern nouns as comparatives, appear in predicates as comparatives, and are verbs when modified by prepositional pronouns. The equatives sometimes have the force of simple coördinating conjunctions, such as *chammah . . . as* (*both . . . and*), *cha nee . . .*, *chamoo* (also *PB namu* = *neither . . . , nor*), *choud as* (*as long as, while* = *PB*, Ps 9.3, Ioh 8.30), *cha leah as* (*as soon as* = *PB gho lua as*); see ex. 108.

60. (Ioh 6.11) jeh ny eeastyn wheesh as bailloo (*PB:* . . . ghuish as bailio — *GB:* do na h-iasgaibh beaga mhèud's a b'àill leo — of the fishes as many as they desired). Also I Cor 5.1.

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[32] The verb *ta* may be used vicariously after *na*, e.g. *ny sliee dy eiyrt-yssee na va Ean* (Ioh 3.1—*more disciples than John was* [*baptizing*]).

61. (Ioh 8.53) Vel uss ny s'ooasle ny'n ayr ain ta marroo? (*PB:* Vel us nasmú na yn áer ainiyn ta marru? — Are you greater than our father who is dead?). Also Ps 8.5 (= *PB*), Ioh 4.12.

62. (Eph 3.8) Dooys, ta'n fer sloo jeh ooilley ny nooghyn (*PB:* Dûys slú dy ny nuaghyn ully — *GB:* Dhamh-sa, a's lugha na'n ti a's lugha do na naomhaibh uile — To me, who am the least of all saints).

63. (Ioh 4.1) dy row Yeesey jannoo as bashtey ny sliee dy eiyrtyssee na va Ean (*GB:* gu'n raibh Iosa a' deanamh agus a' baisteadh tuilleadh dheisciobul na Eoin — that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John was). Also Ioh 5.36 (*na Ean*).

IDENTITY BY LOCATION

To state *This is John* or *Here is John*, identifying a definite noun by pointing it out, Gaelic uses either *So Iain* (*Here* [*is*] *John*) or *'S è so Iain* (*This* [*one*] *is John;* ex. 50, 51, *IS* ex. 35–37). In Manx *shoh* and *she shoh* are alternates, the latter being commoner in *PB*, but the former being attested by 1522 (*Shen yn chied ₑer ec row rieau ee = He was the first man to whom it ever was*). *Shoh* has no other forms; *nee* appears in the negative (*cha nee shoh*) and interrogative (*nee shoh, nagh nee shoh* Ioh 4.29); past tenses use *va*, and the present may also show *ta* (e.g. Ioh 8.41 *ta shen Jee*) or even *t'ee* (*T'ee shen* . . . , Kn p. 134). Compounds formed from *shen* include *shen-y-fa*. *Shoh* also implies "take this," e.g. *shoh slane-lhiat nish* (*here's good-bye now* [so sl'ε·n Ljät n'Is]), see *IS*, p. 181.

64. (Ioh 1.19) As shoh feanish Ean [ass'o f'iAnIs 'iAn] (*GB:* Agus is i so fia'nuis Eoin — And here is the record of John).

65. (Ioh 9.19) Nee shoh yn mac euish? [ni·so·Anm'äk 'uIs] (*GB:* An è so bhur mac-sa? — Is this your son?).

66. (Ioh 7.41) She shoh yn Creest [si·so·Ankr'ist] (*GB:* 'S è so Criosd — This is Christ).

PREDICATION OF IDENTITY

Shoh above is merely a general third person pronoun; *mish* or *mee*, etc. (negative *cha nee oo*, dependent *managh nee oo* Ioh 1.25, interrogative *nee oo*) may replace *shoh* in either type, that is, either *she mish* or *mish* plus predicate. *She uss* was standard by 1625; the negative at that time apparently represents *cha 'n è* (*PB ghani e tri meck, ghani e liorish na;* see *IS* ex. 20–22).[33] Definite and indefinite nouns can be freely used after *she*, the logical subject being a noun or the pronouns *eh, ad*, etc., placed in final position, e.g. *She phadeyn*

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[33] Any noun or pronoun may appear in either position, unlike *SG*, which forbids a pronoun in second position.

eh ([sI f'edAr ɛ] — *He is a prophet* Ioh 9.17). Other tenses are given by *va* (Ioh 1.1, *GB b'è*), *beagh*, and, in the present tense, the alternate with *ta*, already in use in 1625, is still a free alternate in the modern version (*Ta Jihys yn dery — Jesus is the Father*, but also *She Jih yn der — God is the Father*, mod. *Ta'n Ayr Jee*).

67. (Ioh 1.21) Nee oo Elias? Cha nee (=*PB—GB:* An tu Elias? Cha mhi — Are you Elias? No). Compare SG *An è thusa Elias? Cha 'n è.*

68. (Ps 2.7) Uss my Vac (*PB:* She my vack us — Thou art my Son).

69. (Ioh 1.23) Mish coraa fer fockleymagh (*PB:* Ta mi corá fer aeym = *GB:* 'S mise guth an ti a ghlaodhas — I am the voice of someone crying). Also Ioh 6.48, 8.12, 9.5.

In simple statements of status, rather than identity, the expected formula is *ta*, plus subject, plus preposition meaning *in my, in his,* etc., plus the name of the status (profession, etc.), that is, *I am in my teacher* (*IS* ex. 23–25). In Manx the preposition or the article or both may be omitted, leaving *ta* as a direct and complete substitute for the copula (see ex. 29, 30).

70. (Ioh 8.39) Dy beagh shiuish nyn gloan da Abraham [dAb'i'-AX sjus nIngl'ɔ·n dA'ɛbrAhäm] (*GB:* Nam bu chlann do Abraham sibh — If you were Abraham's children).

71. (Ps 7.12) Ta Jee briw cairagh (*PB:* Ta Jih na vriu kayragh— God judges [= is the judge of] the righteous). Also Ps 9.9.

72. (I Cor 1.1) dy ve Ostyl Yeesey [dAv'e 'ɔ'stAl j'e·zi] (*GB:* gu bhi 'na abstol do Iosa — to be an apostle of Jesus). Also Ioh 6.63.

Predication of symbolic identities, that is, between two nouns, apparently requires *she;* it is strictly symbolic in the Bible, and out of the question in simple form in colloquial Gaelic (see *IS*, ex. 27, 31).

73. (Ioh 6.55) She bee my eill [sI b'i: mA'i:LjA] (*GB:* Is biadh m'fheoil — My flesh is meat).

Emphatic Inversion

In principle, any part of speech may be set in emphatic inversion by placing it after a form of the copula and setting its verb in a relative clause. In Manx, omission of *she* leaves many emphatic inversions, of Welsh type, with no remaining rule other than free word order.

Emphatic inversion showing identity has already been found in freely used alternates of a simple statement; in Gaelic, some speakers prefer inversions to direct statement, thus making the alternance, with respect to identity, a matter of dialect rather than emphasis (*IS*, ex. 28). In Manx, *she* precedes the predicate, and the

pronoun subject follows; Gaelic prefers a relative clause (*a th'ann =
that is in him*) to a final pronoun (see ex. 82).

74. (Ioh 9.9) She mish eh (*GB:* 'S mise e — I am he). SG would
use '*S è mise th'ann.*

75. (Ioh 3.2) Ta fys ain dy nee fer-ynsee oo (*PB:* Ta fyss ain gy
ree ferr ynsi us — *GB:* . . . gur fear-teagaisg thu — We know that
you are a teacher). Also Ioh 8.33, 8.37.

If the thought leads to a further verb, the final pronoun *eh* has
the force of an antecedent to a relative clause or a verbal noun;
this pronoun is not used in Gaelic. The formula is *she mish eh ta* (*I
am he who*); apparently *eh* alone can be so used: for a plural, and as
an alternate for the singular as well, the type below, which I call
"identification of the doer," is required.

76. (Ioh 1.27) Eshyn eh ta cheet my yeï (*PB:* She aeshin ga
haink e my iyei — *GB:* 'S è so an ti 'ta teachd a'm'dhiaigh — He it
is, coming after me).

77. (Ioh 4.34) Yn beaghey aym's eh dy yannoo yn aigney (*GB:* Is
è mo bhiadh-sa toil . . . a dheanamh — My meat is to do the will).

78. (Ioh 7.25) Nagh nee shoh eh t'ad shirrey dy varroo? (*GB:*
Nach è so eisean a 'ta iad ag iarraidh a mharbhadh? — Isn't this he
whom they seek to kill?). Also Mt 11.3, Ioh 1.8.

Emphatic identification of the doer of an action sets in emphatic
form the subject, stating the verb in a relative clause; thus *It is I
who did it*, the present category, is a common alternate for the type
just treated, that is, *I am the one who did it*. One may use the pre-
ceding type *eshyn eh ta* (Ioh 1.27, 6.71), or its variant *she eshyn eh ta*
(commoner with *mish*, etc.); or, with *ta*, *t'eshyn ta* (Ioh 1.15), the
present type (the second verb representing any verb in a relative
clause). This present type is required for plurals (e.g. *t'adsyn ta*
Ioh 1.24, plural 8.9), with the alternate using *she* (*she adsyn ta* Ioh
5.39), or the addition of *shen* or *shoh* in place of *eh* (*she ad shen ta*).
The construction *she ta* (*it is he who is*), found in the *Manx Note
Book* (II, 161), is abnormal. The relative clause may be a compara-
tive verb-adjective (ex. 80).

79. (Ioh 9.22) dy nee eh va'n Creest (*GB:* gur b'eisean Criosd —
that he was Christ).

80. (Mt 2.6) Cha nee oo sloo (*PB:* Ghan' us slú — It is not thee
who are the slightest one). *SG* prefers *cha 'n è thusa*, allows *cha tusa*
(*IS*, ex. 32), but never *cha'n t(h)usa*.

If a noun is used, it is governed by the forms of *she:*

81. (Ioh 8.54) She my Ayr ta cur ooashley dou (*GB:* 'S è m'athair
a 'ta toirt glòire dhamh — It is my Father who honors me). Also
Ioh 5.39, 8.9.

When the verb in the relative clause is actually the verb of existence, the relative clause is reduced to *ta* plus the adverb *ayn* (*IS* ex. 23 seq.); the construction *t'ayn* (*that is in it*), normally required in Gaelic to replace pronouns in final position, as well as noun subjects used with expressions of status, is the logical subject of the construction, that is, a substantive in apposition with the noun first stated.

82. (Ioh 6.20) She mish t'ayn (*GB:* 'S è mise ta ann — It is I).

83. (Ioh 5.10) She laa yn doonaght t'ayn.(*GB:* Is i 'n t-sàbaid ata ann — It is the sabbath [today]).

Emphasis thrown on an adjective, giving it permanent value, is expressed freely in Irish by the copula. Or both the noun and its adjective, taken as a unit, may be emphasized. This results in these constructions: 1 (mere emphasis), *Is duine maith é* (*It's a good man he*); 2 (permanent quality), *Is maith an duine é* (*It's good the man he*); or 3 (temporary status), *Tá sé 'na dhuine maith* (*He is in his good man*). In Gaelic, 1 becomes 'S è duine math a th'ann (*IS* ex. 23), 2 can only, be used rhetorically (*IS* ex. 17), and 3 is the simple, direct statement of the new situation. Manx uses 1 (with *she*) and 3 (see ex. 70). Kn gives the type *'S braew yn laa eh!* (*It's fine the day, it!* p. 145).

84. (Ioh 7.12) She dooinney mie eh. Cha nee! (*GB:* 'S duine maith e. Ni h-eadh! — He is a good man. No!).

· As in Gaelic, certain adjectives have formed a new class of word in *s*-, etc., and these alone may be used, in Gaelic and Manx, with the remains of *is* rather than with *she* (Gaelic *'s è*, *IS* ex. 9–13).

85. (I Cor 4.15) Cha nhimmey ayr t'eu (*GB:* Cha 'n eil agaibh mòran aithreacha — You haven't many fathers). Positive *shimmey* (*immey**, i.e. *iomadh*, does not exist).

Emphatic inversion of adverbial constructions takes the form of *is* in Irish, of *'s ann* in Gaelic, of *she* in Manx; but Gaelic permits emphatic inversion only on a few types of adverbs (*IS* ex. 40–46). Manx *she*, or its alternate *te* (dependent *nee* only) appears before all prepositions (*ass, veih, jeh, ayns*, e.g. *she fud-ny-hoie* [si f'odi h'ɔi] *it's throughout the night*), conjunctions (*son dy*), and prefixes (adverbial *dy*, impossible in Gaelic with the corresponding prefix *gu*). *She* is not used before the forms of the preposition *lesh* (Mt 6.13 *son lhiat's y reeriaght = for thine is the kingdom* [sɔn *Lj*'ätsA r'ï'rAX]).

86. (Ioh 1.13) Cha nee jeh fuill, agh jeh Jee (*PB:* Ghani dy 'uil agh ié Jîh — It is not from blood, but from God). Also Ioh 7.22. *Cha nee* alternates with *chamoo* (*neither*) in this type of contrast.

87. (Ioh 7.10) Cha nee dy foshlit, agh myr dy beagh eh dy follit (*GB:* Cha 'n ann os àird, ach mar gu b'ann os iosal — Not openly, but as it were in secret).

88. (Ioh 9.14) As she er y doonaght va (*GB:* Agus b'è là na sàbaid' a bha ann — And it was on the sabbath that it was).

89. (Ps 2.7) Jiu yn laa ta mee er dty gheddyn (*PB:* Ju ta mish er dy jeadthyn — This day I have begotten thee).

90. (Ioh 7.52) Nee ass Galilee t'ou uss myrgeddin? (*GB:* Am bheil thusa mar an ceudna o'n Ghalilee? — Are you also from Galilee?). Also Ioh 4.20.

INDEFINITES

Gaelic *ge b'è*, with indefinite meaning (*-soever*), has been retained in that language only in a few formulas (*IS* ex. 38); both Gaelic and Manx prefer the adjective *air bith* (*erbee* ['öɹbi] = *in the world*). In contrasts, Manx may use *edyr . . . ny* (*whether . . . or*, e.g. I Cor 3.22, *GB ma's è . . . no . . .*). The compound conjunction *er-be dy* (*except, unless, but that*) may be historically related.

INTERROGATIVES

The interrogatives *quoi* (*who -m*), *cre* (*what, where*), *kys* (*how*), etc., form direct and indirect questions and related exclamations in identical form (I Cor 6.19). Of these *kys* (*PB kyns,* i.e. *cionnus*), asking *how* (but not modifying adjectives or adverbs to show degree), alone offers no problems; it governs a relative clause; followed by *dy* (not found in *PB*) it seems to indicate surprise. Qu uses from memory *Cannas ta shiu? Ta brau* (*How are you? Fine* [k'ɛnAs t'ɛsu—tɛ br'aw] *Voc.* [kAnAs tθä zu]). In 1522 *kys* is found with an adverb, e.g. *kys myr haink ee* (*how it came,* indirect question).

91. (Ioh 5.44) Kys oddys shiuish credjal? ·[kIs 'ɔdAs ʒj'uʃ krɛdʒ'al] (*GB:* Cionnas a dh'fheudas sibh creidsin? — How can you believe?). Also Ioh 5.47, 7.15, 9.26.

92. (Ps 11.1) Kys dy vel shiu gra? (*PB:* Kyns ta shiu grá? — How can you say?). Also Lc 2.49 (*Kys dy row = PB kyns haghyn*).

How modifying adjective or adverb and showing degree or admiration takes the form *cre cha*, e.g. *cre cha ooasle ta* (*PB gho ard-ẏasyl as ta = how excellent*).

"QUOI," "CUIN," "CAID"

Quoi ([kw'ɑi], *who* or *whom, PB quei*) may be used unmodified as subject or object of a verb, or modified by a few words (noun in apposition, *of you, -soever*), including the demonstrative *shen* (*Quoi shen?* [kw'ɑi sɛn] = *Who is that?* see *Int.* ex. 14-21). It governs a relative clause (mutated verb, in the future in *-ys*, e.g. Ps 4.6 in *PB quei hoilshys duin*).

93. (Ioh 5.12) Quoi va yn dooinney shen dooyrt rhyt? (*GB:* Co an duine a dubhairt riut? — Who was the man who said to thee?). Also *Quoi 'n dooinney ta* (I Cor 2.11).

94. (Ioh 1.19) Quoi oo hene? [kw'ɑi u h'i'n·] (*GB:* Co thusa?—Who art thou?). Also Mt 21.10; with relative clause Ioh 21.20, I Cor 4.7.

95. (Ioh 9.36) Quoi eh, dy voddym credjal ayn? (*GB:* Co e, chum gu'n creidinn ann*?* — Who is he, that I should believe in him?).

In oblique cases, *quoi* stands before its preposition. To judge by the constructions used in oblique relative clauses, this preposition is used adjectively or adverbially. *Dict.* gives *Quoi ec ta fys?* (*With whom is knowledge? Who knows*); in Gaelic there are two solutions, one with adverb (*Co aige tha fios?*), the other with a preposition governing a dependent clause (*Co aig am bheil fios?*). In Manx, *ec* is a preposition, but, as was noted of *ayns* and *ayn*, *ec* appears to be a special form for *echey*, that is, a neuter, peculiar to some prepositions only.

96. (Ioh 6.68) Quoi gys hem mayd? (*GB:* Co a ruigeas sinn? *or* Cia dh'ionnsuidh theid sinn? — To whom shall we go?).

When appears in Manx as *cuin* ([kjun], Gaelic *c'ùin*); Gd (p. 67) mentions a weak form *cre 'n traa*, not found in the Bible.

97. (Ioh 6.25) Cuin haink oo ayns shoh? [kjun h'äŋk u· Anss'ɔ] (*GB:* C'ùin a thàinig thus' ann so? — When did thou come here?).

How long appears as *caid* or *caïd*. *Dict.* gives *caid er dy* for *how long is it since*, and *caid t'ou goll* for *where are you going*, the latter not located in the Bible (these are apparently related to Gaelic *ce fhad* and *c'àite*).

98. (Ps 13.1) Caid nee oo my yarrood? (*PB:* Káidj nee us mish y iarúd? — How long will thou forget me?). Also Ps 4.2, 13.2.

Examples of other remains of the interrogative prefix *ce** are rare. In *PB* one finds *kavod* (ex. 108 = *how many*, mod. *cre-woad* and *cre-whilleen*), *kài ayd* (*which are they*, perhaps merely for *quei*, mod. *cre ad*), and *k'enym t'erifs* (*what is thy name*), and Gd (p. 57) gives *k'ys dhyt?* (*How dost thou know?* i.e., *ce fhios*) and *kovys dou?* (*How do I know?* i.e. *ca** bhfios domh*). Otherwise, since at least 1625, the word *cre* has taken over all interrogative constructions other than those already mentioned, forming at the same time weak compounds as common alternates for *quoi, cuin, caid*, etc.

"CRE"

Cre ([krä] or [kA]), in simple form, with dependent verb, means *where* (*PB* ká, kái), although the weak forms *cre raad* [krä r'ed], *c'raad* [kAr'ad], or [kArAd], or even *cre vel yn raad* [krɛ v'el Anr'ɛd], are very common. *Cre voish* (*PB* kái ayd*? = *whence they?* or *kaidj ass* with dependent verb, i.e. Gaelic *co as* with relative verb), *cre veih* (*Dict.*, using an alternate form of *voish*), and, in *PB*, *kre yn iynyd*, have the same meaning.

99. (Mt 2.2) Cre vel ree ny Hewnyn t'er jeet er y theihll? (*PB:* Ká vel eshyin ta erna vrae rii dy ny Hiuyn? — *GB:* C'àit' am bheil . . . ? — Where is he that is born King of the Jews?). Also Ioh 7.11, 9.12 (*Cre vel eh? Cha s'aym*).

100. (Ioh 7.35) C'raad hed eh? [kAr'ad h'ɛd e] (*GB:* C'àit an d'théid am fear so? — Where will he go?). Also Ioh 1.38, 1.39.

101. (Ioh 6.5) Cre-voish oddys mayd arran y chionnaghey dy yannoo magh ad shoh? (*PB:* Kaidj ass gani meid aran, gy vod ayd shó ii? — Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat?). Also Ioh 3.8.

Cre (*PB kre*) followed by a relative clause, e.g. *Cre t'ou dy hirrey?* (Ioh 4.27 [krI t'a·u· dAh'erI·]), or, in indirect questions, by an infinitive, corresponds to English *what;* if *cre* is the direct object, the infinitive is mutated by the particle *y. What* after preposition is stated with *cre* either preceded or followed by the preposition (*Lesh cre ta . . . ?* or *Cre lesh ta . . . ?*). Weak forms show *cre* in apposition with an appropriate noun, e.g. *PB Kre yn red rish ta . . . ?* (*What is the thing with which is . . . ?*), identical in form with those already given above (*cre raad,* etc.). *You don't know what . . . is Cha s'eu cre . . .* (Ioh 4.22).

102. (Ioh 1.22) Cre t'ou gra my-dty-chione hene? (*PB:* Kre tou dy ra iid haeyn? — What sayest thou of thyself?).

103. (I Cor 4.7) Cre t'ayd? (*GB:* Ciod è ata agad? — What hast thou?).

104. (Mt 11.8) Cre hie shiu magh dy akin? (*PB:* Kre gha shiu magh dâ akin? — What did you go out to see?).

Other compounds formed of *cre* with noun represent the remaining interrogative ideas (see *Dict.* p. 55: -*aght,* -*choud,* -*hon* [Ps 10.1], -*share,* -*shen,* -*whilleen,* -*woad* [I Cor 6.3, for *mhoide* ?], *PB kavod*); some of these include a definite article (*cre 'n erree* [Ioh 21.21], *veih cre 'n voayl* [*Dict.* = *whence*], *cre 'n-fa* [*why*], *PB krefa* or *kamma*). Some of these take two forms, that of a compound interrogative (*Cre yn ennym eh?* = *What is his name?*), or that of a predicate (*Cre ta yn ennym echey?* = *What is his name?*). A preposition may either stand before the compound (*Lesh cre ny focklyn va . . . ?* = *With what words was . . . ?*) or after the compound (identical passage in *PB* = *Kre ny goyn rish va . . . ?*, again *Cre lesh va'n . . .* for older *Kre yn red rish va yn . . .*).

105. (Ioh 1.25) Cre'n-fa t'ou bashtey eisht? (*PB:* Kamma vcl us bastchey aeish? — Why dost thou baptize then?). Also Ps 2.1, Lc 2.48.

106. (Ioh 8.33) Cre'n aght t'ou gra eisht? (*GB:* Cionnas a deir tu? — How is it that thou art saying?).

107. (I Cor 3.13) cre'n sorch te jeh (*GB:* ciod is gnè dh'i — what sort it is).

108. (Mt 23.37) Cre cha mennick as va mish aggindagh v'er haglym (*PB:* Kavod kiýrt balliâms ve er jaglym — *GB:* Cia minic a b'àill leam . . . — How often would I have gathered).

Dependent Infinitive

Having lost essentially all nominal force (see p. 319), the verbal noun may reasonably be called a gerund in real compound tenses and an infinitive in dependent position; *Dict.* distinguishes between *giarr* and *dy iarr, fakin* and *dy akin*, etc., on this basis. The difference between these forms is, however, purely phonetic, since the gerund may also be mutated and the infinitive may appear in gerundal form after certain words, but with a mutating prefix *y* after others. The term *infinitive* can therefore be applied to them all, as a useful equivalent of *verbal noun.* The gerundal form was formerly dependent on the preposition *ec,* now completely lost in this function, except before a vowel, where it appears as *g-.* Actually, any other preposition may be placed before the same historical form, leading to other mutations. On the other hand, the gerundal form placed after certain auxiliary verbs no longer even implies the force of the preposition *ec,* for which reason it is at the same time gerundal in form and infinitive in force. All variations of the verbal noun can therefore be classed together, the mutations being explained as a series of morphological possibilities, or the results of nonsyntactical sentence structure.

The infinitives of intransitive verbs offer the simplest form. The subject is the same person or thing as that of the main verb (if the main verb is impersonal, the subject is the person expressed by the prepositional pronoun), or is a preceding dative with such verbs as *tell, ask,* etc. The pure infinitive is never mutated (except *dy ve,* which has no unmutated form). *Ve* without the prefix *dy* forms compound infinitives, progressive or perfect (exactly as for the finite forms of this verb).

The commonest auxiliaries governing an unmutated intransitive infinitive are those containing the copula prefixes (ex. 54–58) and the verb *oddym* (*I can*). *Lhig da* (imperative *let him*) governs a gerundal form, but in *PB* this was mutated (*Ligg' uin hilge* = *Let us throw*); the force of this auxiliary is obscured by alternate use of an accusative in place of the dative with *da,* I Cor 7.11 (*Lhig ee ve* but again in the same verse *Lhig da;* also Ps 17.2). I find one example of *lhisin* (*I should,* Ioh 4.20).

109. (Ioh 3.9) Kys oddys ny reddyn shoh y ve? (*GB:* Cionnas a dh'fheudas na nithe so bhi? — How can these things be?).

110. (Ioh 3.4) Kys oddys dooinney v'er ny ruggey? (*PB:* Kyns 'odys duyne vé erna vrée? — How can a man be born?).

111. (I Cor 3.18) Lhig da ve ny ommydan (*GB:* Biodh e 'na amadan — Let him become a fool). Also Ps 2.3, 10.2, I Cor 7.11.

112. (Mt 21.4) Va ooilley sho jeant, dy voddagh shen ve cooilleenit (*PB:* Va sho ully jeant, gy vodagh e ve erna ghuiliny — All this was done, that it might be fulfilled). Also Ioh 1.7, 9.3.

The transitive infinitive offers a new problem, the position and effect of its noun or pronoun direct object. The noun, having in Manx lost its genitive case, may be placed after the auxiliary verb and before the infinitive, the latter then being preceded and mutated by the particle *y*, or it may be placed after the unmutated (gerundal) form as a simple direct object. The pronoun, even though it can show a possessive in the form of a possessive article, is also an accusative, but must follow the infinitive; ex. 114 shows *y* with pronoun (*y* = possessive article ?).

113. (Ioh 3.2) Cha vod dooinney erbee ny mirrilyn shen y yannoo (*GB:* Cha 'n urradh duin' air bith na miorbhuile so dheaṁamh — No man can do these miracles). Also (object placed before infinitive) Ioh 1.22, 3.3, 3.27; I Cor 3.18 (*lhig da*).

114. (Ioh 6.60) Quoi oddys y chlashtyn eh? (*GB:* Co a dh'fheudas cisteachd ris? — Who can hear it?).

115. (Ps 9.14) dy voddym soilshaghey ooilley dty voylley (*P.B:* gy vodym ully dthy volaghyns y hoilsaghy — that I may show forth all thy praises).

116. (Eph 3.4) Foddee shiu toiggal my hushtey's ayns folliaght Chreest (*PB:* gy vod shiu m'ysheris y huigel ayns falliyght Khrist— You may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ).

The infinitive may be governed by most prepositions, notably *dy* (*to*), *gyn* (*without*, forming the negative infinitive, e.g. I Cor 7.1), *son* (*in order to, for the sake of*), *ec* (*on, at the moment of*, rare), *erreish* (*after*, perfect infinitive with special requirements), etc. Gd (p. 71) and Kn (pp. 139–140) mention *ry*, which gives passive value to transitive verbs (*ry-gheddyn* = *to be found*, *ry-heet* = *to have come*, see p. 324). The meanings of *dy* are multiple: it is used with *ta* to show emphasis (*Ta mee dy ghra* = *I do say*, examples in St), and, with *ta* (*there is a*), *send, make, seek, permit, come*, to indicate purpose; it is the connective required after abstract nouns (*power, fear*) and predicate adjectives (*important, fitting, difficult, able*); after concrete nouns, it makes the infinitive passive (*food to eat* Ioh 4.33, *what to do*). It does not correspond to Irish *go* meaning *until* or *and*.

117. (I Cor 5.12) Cre t'ayms dy yannoo dy vriwnys adsyn ta?

(*GB:* Ciod è mo ghnothuch-sa breith thoirt orrasan a 'ta?—What have I to do to judge those who are?).

118. (Ioh 1.12) dauesyn hug e pooar dy ve nyn mec dy Yee (*GB:* thug sè dhoibh cumhachd a bhi 'n an cloinn do Dhia — to you he gave power to be of the sons of God). Also I Cor 6.12 (*cooie dy ve*), Ioh 4.8 (*goll dy*), 7.25 (*shirrey dy*).

119. (I Cor 1.15) Nagh beagh oyr ec fer erbee dy ghra dy vasht mee (*GB:* Air eagal gu'n abradh neach gur bhàist mi — That it not be to any man to say that I baptized).

120. (Rom 15.5) dy gherjagh jiuish dy ve jeh un aigney (*PB:* dy hoyrt difs dy ve d'yn agney ghedyn — to grant you to be of one mind).

The infinitive with *as* (*and*) and *dy* may replace a finite verb of a second action; the personal pronoun subject then precedes *dy:*

121. (Ps 2.12) nagh bee eh jymmoosagh, as myr shen shiu dy herraghtyn (*PB:* nagh bii é korri, as marshen shiuss dy goll mou — lest he be angry, and thus you perish).

After other prepositions the verbal noun value of the infinitive can be better felt than in the constructions already discussed, since the possessive article becomes common. When intransitive, the infinitive is the simple object of the preposition (Ioh 7.8). Irish will use, in theory, a possessive article, but in Munster Irish (Jon., p. 180) it prefers to construe this with accusative objects of prepositions, even of prepositions which themselves govern genitives (*chun é dhéanamh* = *in order to do it*), carrying this even to progressive tenses, where an attributive dative is found (*ag teacht dom* = *on my coming*). In Manx no such distinction is made, there being but a single solution involving the possessive article (*ec y cheet echey syn* = *on his going, PB ag y chiit aggesyn;* I cannot explain lack of mutation by *y*), or the alternate, already illustrated, of the direct object accusative placed after the infinitive or, if a noun, between preposition and infinitive, governed by mutating *y*. Intransitive verbs are modified, as infinitives, by a possessive which is their real subject (ex. 123). The preposition *dy* set before the possessive article (e.g. *dy dty* = *to thy* Mt 18.9) takes the form *dy* with third person singular, *dyn* with the plural (i.e., for *dy e, dy nyn*, Lc 10.3).

122. (Ioh 1.33) Agh eshyn ren mish y choyrt dy vashtey (*GB:* An ti a chuir mi a bhaisteadh — But he who sent me to baptize). Also Ioh 3.14.

123. (I Cor 1.7) farkiagh son cheet y Chiarn (*GB:* ag feitheamh re foillseachadh ar Tighearna — waiting for the coming of the Lord).

124. (Ioh 7.44) Va paart jeu son goaill eh (*GB:* B'àill le cuid aca a

ghlacadh, *also* Bha pàirt dhaibh son a ghabhail — Some of them were for seizing him).

125. (I Cor 2.2) Va mee kiarit gyn dy hoiggal nhee erbee (*GB:* Chuir mi romham gun eòlas a ghabhail air ni sam bìth — I determined not to know anything). *Gyn dy* appears to represent a compound preposition.

126. (Mt 2.1) Lurg da Yeescy ve ruggit (*PB:* Nar va Iésy erna vree — *GB:* An uair a rugadh Iosa — When Jesus was [had been] born).

127. (Ioh 9.6) Tra v'eh erreish shoh y loayrt (*GB:* 'Nuair a dubhairt è na nithe so — When he had said this).

128. (Mt 2.9) Erreish daue v'er chlashtyn y ree, jimmee ad rhymboo (*PB:* Nar va adsyn er glastchen y rii, gh'áyd rumbu -— *GB:* Air cluintin an righ dhoibh, dh'imich iad — When they had heard the King, they departed [went before themselves]).

APPENDIX

I. Psalm 23, Text of 1625

1. She yn Chiarn my voghil y keragh: shenyfá gha vod feim ve aym er red erbi. 2. Ni é mi véaghey ayns pastyr glass: as liédji é mi magh rish lietty ny huiskaghyn dy gyrjaghey. 3. Chyndai e m'anym: as ver e magh mi ayns kassanyn ny káyrys, erson gráyi y aenym. 4. Gy jaru, ga ta mi gimiaght tryid kóyn dy ská yn váys, gha góym agil d'olk erbi: erson ta us márym, ta dthy latt as dthy loyrg dy my gyrjaghy. 5. Ni us arlu boyrd rûyms nan yoisyn ta dy my húa: tous ern' ally my ghian rish úil, as bi my ghapan láyn. 6. Agh ni eiri dthy ghúghys graiguill as dthy vyghin mish ully lághyn my hýyl: as niym vághey ayns tei yn Chiarn erson gy bragh.

II. Phonetic Text from Readings by Mrs. Quayle

Mylecharaine, traditional song (from *Programme of Cruinnaght*, 1924, p. 20)

Oh Vylecharaine, c'raad hooar oo dthy stoyr	o: v'ali kAr'ε'n· kArAdh'ur u·ðAst'ɔr
My-lomarcan daag oo mee;	mAl'ɔmArkAn d'ε:gu: mi·
Nagh dooar mee 'sy churragh eh	naX d'uArmi sAk'ɔrAXA
Dowin, doẉin dy liooar?	d'awn d'awn dAl'ur
O yishag, O yishag, ta mee nish goaill nearey,	o: j'IsAg o: j'IsAg tε mi nIs g'o:Lj n'ε:ri
T'ou goll gys y cheeil ayns dty charraneyn vaney;	tau g'ɔL gIsIts'i:l onsðAkAr'εnAn v'εni
O vuddee, O vuddee, cha lhiass dhyts goaill nearey,	o: v'ɔdi· o: v'ɔdi· hɑ·Lj'ɑ·s dIts go:Lj An'εri
Son ʋ'ayms my chrishtey ver orts dy ghearey,	son t'Am:z AnsmAkr'Isti vAr'ɔts ðAg'ε·ri
My hiaght mynney-mollaght ort, O Vylecharaine,	mEX'aXt miNjA m'ɑlAXtɔ·t o· v'ali kAr'ε'n·
Son uss va'n chied-ghooinney hug toghyr da mraane.	son'ɔs v'εn kidg'ONA hAgt'o:gAr dAmAr'ε:n

John, Book I (1819 Text)

1. An·z At'ɔ·sAX ve·ng'u· Azve·n g'u m'erisdz'i· Asveng'u·dz'i· 2. ve·ng'ukεdn AnzAt'ɔsAX merisdz'i· 3. l'ɔrIsAn ve ðAk'uLjAnh'i· öɹnAdz'änu asnA'ε·gus har'aw nh'i· 'ö·bi dzεnt ve öɹnAdz'änu 4. AnsAnv'ε·bi asv'εn v'ε s'olsA d'εNjA 5. asrεnIs'olsA s'olsin AnzAd'ar(ʌ)XAs asha· r'εn Ad'ɑr(ʌ)XAs g'o·LjArIs 6. ve· d'UNA öɹnAts'ɔrt vOidz'i· ve 'εnmIsIt 'iEn 7. h'äɳk Is'o sAnf'i·nIs ðA'ImrIkE f'iAnIs dzεn t'o·Lsi LjɔrIsIn dAv'ɔdAX dAts'u·LA g'uNjA kr'εdzEl 8. hɑ·ni·εv'εn s'olsA sε·n äX ve öɹnAk'ɔɹt dA'imrEkE f'iEnIs dze·nt-'olsAsε·n 9. sε·n ve·n s'oLsA fernEX tεs'olsIn onzðAk'u·LjA g'uNjA tθε ts'it öɹitθ'i·Lj(A) 10. ve AnzAtθ'i·LjA asvεns'iLjA öɹnAdz'änu ljɔrIsIn asAs'iLjA hAd'Ag εni 'öɹ 11. h'äɳk c gIsAv'ONjAr hi'n· äXhar'εn i v'uNjAr hi'n· s'ɔigidz'e

Pater Noster (Matt. 6:9–13, 1819 text)

9. 'ε·r ain t'un sNj'aw tAk'asArIk dAr'aw ðA'εnEm 10. tθAdz'Ig ðAðAr'i·rAX ðA'εgni ðAr'aw dzεnt öritθ'alw möɹtAnsNj'aw 11. kAd'un nAn'arAn dz'u asg'aXlε: 12. as l'i:d'un nAnl'ɔXtAn mörtAs'In laid'awzAn te·dz'anu l'ɔXtAn nIn'ɔi 13. As nAlj'idsIn Ansm'ailAX aX l'ivrisIn vai'ɔlk sonlj'ätsA r'i·rAX astAf'uAr AsAgl'ɔAr son dAbr'ε: asdAbr'ε:

E vonnaght s'jerree (from *Programme of Cruinnaght*, 1924, p. 15)

Hie shin er walkal gys y cheayn, h'ai sIn Aw'ɔLkAl gAsAk'i'n·
Sheese gys y cheayn, my ghraih as mish; si:s gAsAk'i'n· mAgr'ai Asm'Is
Er'n key daag eh mee keayney jeean, öɹnk'i: dAX i mik'INjAdzin
Tra dooyrt ee rhym, shoh slane-lhiat nish. trɛ d'uɹti rIm so sl'ɛ·n ljat n'Is
Nee imbee cheet, nee imbee goll, ni'ImbitsIt ni'Imbig'ɔL
Nee'n gollan-geayee hooin getlagh reesht ni'n· g'ɔlAn gi: hOn g'etlaX r'ist
Nee'n roayrt lhieeney as chyndaa hoal ninr'ɔɹt lin'e asts'Indɐ· h'oL
Agh, O my ghraih, cha jig eh reesht! aX o mAgr'ai hadz'igörist
She fud-ny-hoie arrey dreayll mee, si f'odi h'ɔi ar'i· dri·L mi·
My lamp dy sollys lossey da; mAl'amp dAs'olAs l'ɔsi dɐ·
E laue cheayll mee er sneg my chlea; il'aw kil mi· öɹsn'ɛg mAkl'i:
Agh, O my ghraih, cha jig dy bra. aX o mAgr'ai hats'Ig dAbr'ɛ
Ayns ashlishyn cheayll mee eh gra, Anz 'ä·slIsIn k'il mi ɛ gr'ɛ·
Erskyn y cheayn cheayll mee eh gra. öɹskIn Ak'i'n· ki'l mi ɛ gr'ɛ·